The New
REPUBLIC

January 14, 1946

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JAN 14 1946

GM vs. the Rest of Us

by WALTER P. REUTHER

Why President Truman and the Auto Workers demand of General Motors, "open your books!"

What's Ahead for '46? . . . . *Oscar Gass*
Truman Goes to the People . . . *Editorial*
How Big Will Profits Be? . . *George Soule*

FIFTEEN CENTS

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WHAT WILL STALIN DO?

Stalin's basic political ideas and plans are today of special significance, for the future of world peace depends upon them. Is he for or against democracy? Will he follow the imperialistic policies of Peter the Great and the other historic Russian rulers? Will he persist in his scheming for world revolution? Will he give the Russian people some civil liberties? And what about the victorious Russian generals – are they telling Stalin anything? For informed and documented answers to all these questions, read "The Consistency of Stalin," by David J. Dallin, one of the few men in America today worth reading on Russia. Right, Left, and Center will find his article highly illuminating.

COLONIES AND WORLD PEACE

Armies are on the march again, and this time it's in the Colonies! What is happening in Java, Indo-China, India, Hong Kong and Burma may soon happen wherever one people owns another. *What should be America's policy toward the colonies of our Allies?* Is it any of our business? Have we any responsibility? Paul Blanshard, who knows the colonial problem as few other men in the world, tackles it with realism and hard common sense in "Colonies and World Peace." His article is constructive and important – one which everyone concerned about future peace must read.

THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for January—NOW ON SALE

Bernard Shaw is with us this month in a brightly Shavian bit of autobiography entitled *Sixty Years as an Author.* Another old-timer, Charles Hanson Towne, writes a pleasant tale of Victorian Vermont, *The Big House* . . . Of the many reasons given for the fall of Germany, William Bayles reveals the most important one in *The Story Behind the Nazi Defeat* . . . The swift, sure justice of Judge Isaac C. Parker is the subject of *He Hanged Eighty-Eight Men* . . . Why should 50,000 people die each year because doctors don't know the simple procedures in case of asphyxiation? – read *Facts About Asphyxia* . . . You will never forget the strange fanatic you meet in *A German Grave Digger,* who risks his life among German mine fields to bring out American dead. . . . And you will want to read such other stimulating articles as *The Myth of Educational Equality* . . . *Social Work Becomes a Profession* . . . *Farming Without Soil* . . . *Idaho Nocturne: 1909* . . . and *Fragments of a War.* George Jean Nathan in *The Theatre* and Alan Devoe in *Down to Earth* are in their usual fine form, and *The Library,* the *Check List* and the *Open Forum* are as fruitful and provocative as ever.

The American Mercury and The Front Page

The troubles in Iran are beginning to reach the front pages of the newspapers just as this is being written – but they reached the pages of THE AMERICAN MERCURY last May. Andre Visson's "The Big Three in the Near East" told why there would be trouble in Iran . . . Are MERCURY authors fortune tellers, crystal gazers? No—but neither is a doctor who can predict the course of a disease, once he has made an accurate diagnosis. MERCURY authors, because they get below the surface of a situation, are consistently able to foresee the shape of things to come. . . . Furthermore, MERCURY authors know they can write courageously and, when necessary, contrary to popular opinion of the moment. They know THE MERCURY doesn't hesitate to go out on a limb when the limb is supported by facts. . . . These are the reasons why MERCURY readers, month after month, get the news long before it happens.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Truman Goes to the People

IN TONE, IF NOT IN CONTENT, President Truman's address last week was a soft answer to the Congress which has ignored and humiliated him. One missed, in making the inevitable comparison, the fire, the sense of aroused anger, the sharpness of phrase and inflection which FDR would have imparted to the performance. There was nothing in this appeal to the people to lift or inspire them. Nevertheless, it was an unmistakable challenge. The President was temperate, but he did not temporize. He was as explicit as anyone could have wished. He showed that he knows what he wants and that he no longer supposes he can get it by mere placation. The speech could not have failed to enhance respect for the President, even if it did not altogether ensure confidence that he will win the fight to which he has now committed himself.

Mr. Truman was tactful as well as just in his tribute to the congressional record in foreign affairs. It is, indeed, on the whole, a remarkably good record. And the contrast between it and the record on domestic problems suggests that public opinion has been much more successfully crystallized with respect to the former. The national leadership, under both Roosevelt and Truman, has produced a clear sense of America's responsibilities to the world. It has produced nothing like so clear a sense—probably because it has possessed no such clarity—about the attainment of economic democracy at home.

Nor is it likely that this understanding will develop from Mr. Truman's plea for support of the specific details of his economic program. He spoke of "must" objectives. "It is my responsibility," he said, "to outline those objectives to the Congress and to the people." But he must do more than outline them. He must dramatize them, make them meaningful and enlist fervor for their achievement.

Mr. Truman was admirably forthright in his enumeration of the measures he wanted enacted. He did not fudge in the slightest about emergency unemployment compensation, about minimum wages, about full-employment legislation or even about the FEPC. He made a compelling case for the extension of price control and the Second War Powers Act. He set forth simply and fairly his position in regard to fact-finding legislation for the settlement of labor disputes. His restraint in criticizing Congress as a whole made his indictment all the more effective. "I intend no blanket criticism of the Congress," he asserted. "Devoted and far-seeing men in both the Senate and the House have labored to make effective a program adequate to our needs."

For the second time, the President pointed a finger straight at the particular committees responsible for holding up essential legislation. But there is something slightly naïve in his assumption that these committees are solely to blame. "It is the committees," he said, "which hold up action on bills." This is true only in a limited sense; for the fact is that no committee can hold

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up action indefinitely unless it has the tacit support of a majority of House or Senate members in doing so. For many months a petition for discharge of the FEPC legislation has been awaiting the requisite number of signatures in the House; it could have been brought to a vote at any time if the Republicans had seen fit to give it more than lip-service. The Ways and Means Committee would never have been able to shelve the unemployment-compensation bill if a good many Representatives had not been quite willing to avoid a showdown on it. Generally speaking, committees act with dispatch when Congress as a whole genuinely wants action.

The President himself is not altogether free from responsibility for the apathy or indecisiveness in Congress over economic measures. His appeal for the maintenance of economic controls would have been more impressive had he not countenanced serious weakening of these controls by his own administrative aides. The impetus for abandonment of the excess-profits tax came, for example, from the Executive branch of the government. It was the President's own director of reconversion who removed restrictions on housing. It was the same adviser who brought about the abolition of the War Labor Board—continuation of which might have made new labor legislation quite unnecessary. Mr. Truman's Administration has simply not demonstrated that clear sense of direction which is the *sine qua non* of leadership.

There is some reason to hope from the President's speech that the irresolution which has dogged him has now been dissipated. But if he is to steer a straight course he will need some abler and more experienced pilots than those few intimates who have been in the wheelhouse with him up to now. His past actions have been too largely on an *ad-hoc* basis. The fact-finding proposal, for instance, seemed more an expediency contrived to meet the automobile and steel-industry disputes than a considered plan for the long-range maintenance of labor peace. He needs to recognize that the dilatoriness of Congress has stemmed, at least in part, from unsureness and bungling at his own end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Declamation alone will not move Congress to effective action. Having thrown down a gauntlet, Mr. Truman will now have to fight for what he wants. He will have to fight by coöperating with Congress in the only way in which such coöperation is practicable: by working with and through the members of Congress who share his aims; and he will have to fight by mobilizing popular support through dramatization of his "must" objectives—not in an isolated radio speech but in persistent utilization of all the avenues which a President has for communication with the people. In short, he must become, as Franklin Roosevelt became, a symbol of the popular hopes which he himself evokes and articulates. The myth of the plain and average and somewhat helpless citizen will not serve. He must take on and exercise the dynamic functions of democratic leadership.

Taft Helps the Democrats

President Truman's effort to build a fire under a lethargic Congress and force it to act, in view of the dangerous situation into which the country is drifting, was promptly answered by Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Senate Republican Steering Committee. Senator Taft dismissed the whole program as "left-wing," "communist," as "coming directly from the Soviet Constitution" or from "the CIO." He went on to say that Congress does not need the advice of the people, and told them not to send telegrams to congressmen. His speech needs no comment from anybody except to say that it must have put joy into the hearts of Democratic politicians who are working for the reëlection of Mr. Truman, or for some other Democratic presidential candidate, in '48. If Mr. Taft speaks for the dominant group in the Republican Party—and there is good reason to assume that he does—the GOP seems certain to fall on its face again as it did in '44, '40, '36 and '32.

Eighteenth-Century Sentinels

The New York *Herald Tribune* on January 6 published a large advertisement which must have taken away the breath of even the most hard-boiled conservatives among that paper's readers. Signed simply "Society of Sentinels, Detroit," without further identification, it suggested to President Truman the message the Sentinels would like to see him send to Congress. They are in favor of immediate repeal of all government controls over prices or wages; they want "prices to seek their own level"—in other words, unlimited inflation. But this is only the beginning. They also ask repeal of the Wagner Act, the wages-and-hours law, and all laws to aid or control agriculture, on the general ground of unconstitutionality. All relief to the starving people of Europe and Asia by means of federal funds should be suspended except in so far as the bankrupt governments of the countries involved could float bond issues among private investors in this country: in other words, let them starve. All federal aid to social security and housing should be ended. In short, the Society of Sentinels wants to Balkanize the United States, ignoring all the changes that have been slowly transforming the face of the world in the last hundred years.

Condemning Millions to Die

We understand that a leading figure in this society is John W. Scoville, who is or has been an economic adviser to the Chrysler Corporation. Others active in the group are Les Allman, advertising director for the Fruhauf Trailer Corporation; Stephen Dubrul, a Gen-

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eral Motors economist; Wayne Stettbacher of the Detroit Employers' Association, and Noble Travis of the Detroit Trust Company. We should like to know whether the chief officials, and the stockholders, of these organizations support this savagely reactionary policy, which if carried out would not only do untold harm here at home but would condemn at least 20 million persons throughout the world to die of starvation this winter. If they do, the public which buys Chrysler and General Motors cars, or Fruhauf trailers, or patronizes the Detroit Trust Company, should be informed of this fact.

Good-bye, General

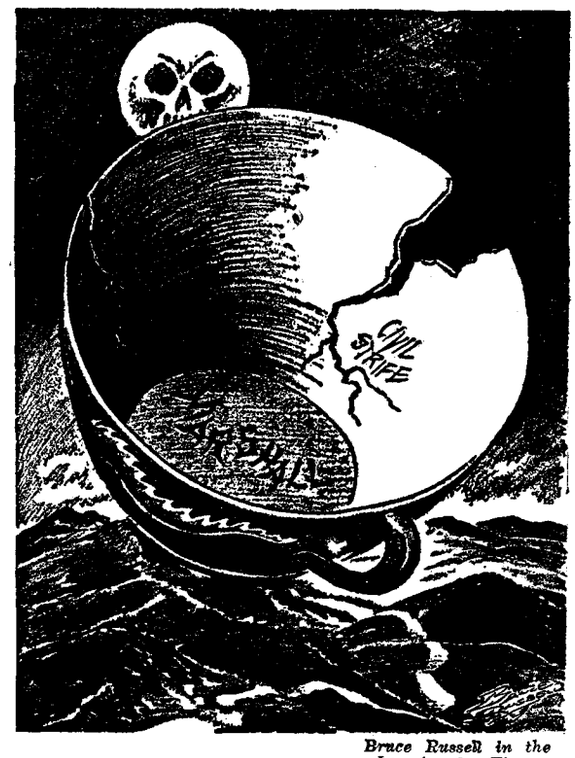
Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Morgan, head of UNRRA in Germany, has now been fired, as he richly deserved to be. If the situation were not so tragic, his remarks about the "well fed, rosy-cheeked, well financed" Jewish refugees from Poland would constitute 1946's best contribution to unconscious humor. Does General Morgan really think that people of the sort he describes leave their homes for no reason, to wander across the face of the earth? Possibly he does; his observations suggest a remarkable degree of credulity on his part. In any case, he can presumably do no more mischief, and the incident is closed. There is plenty of testimony from more reliable observers that the overwhelming majority of the Jewish and other refugees who are now wandering the roads of Europe are destitute and hungry. Irving Brant, just back from Poland, testified in the *New Republic* of January 7 to the murderous activities of anti-Semites in that country since the end of the war. It is safe to assume that no Jew abandons his home, friends and neighbors, and livelihood except under pressure of the utmost desperation. The obvious and sensible immediate solution is to send to Palestine those Jews who are willing to go. With all available transportation used, not enough could be moved and colonized in the next few months to make any appreciable difference in the ultimate solution of the Arab-Jewish question. In the meantime they are dying—and being killed.

American Uniforms in Java

Despite the efforts to end the fighting in Java, it still goes on. Dutch Marines who were trained in the United States have recently landed there, wearing American army uniforms and using American arms, ammunition and equipment; in fact, to the naked eye they are indistinguishable from United States forces. This country is of course a silent partner in the crimes that are being committed against the Indonesians, whose fight for a greater degree of autonomy is morally a close parallel of our own Revolutionary War; the attempt to suppress the native population is being carried out by the Allied Southeast Asia Command, in which we participate. Since, however, Washington is somewhat unhappy about what is happening in Java, when the fighting began we demanded that American insignia be removed from lend-lease equipment used by the British and Indian troops—a touch of hypocrisy which apparently deceived no one. Now the insignias are back again; the Dutch are undoubtedly using their American-trained and equipped Marines (who were presumably intended by us originally to be used in Europe against the Germans) as a propaganda device to suggest to the Javanese that Americans are just as hostile to them as are all the other white men. It seems clear that this literal wearing of false colors should stop at once. It would be even better if the bull-headed, elderly members of the Dutch government at home, who insist on continuing the war, would heed the advice of their more moderate compatriots, and end the fighting.

Purging the Japanese Fascists

General MacArthur has acted wisely in insisting that the Japanese government shall be purged of all fascists, including particularly military men and former members of secret societies. Indeed, the only question that can be asked is why this order was not issued long ago. The men now banned are those who plotted the war. They are the mortal enemies of democracy, whether economic or political, and Japan cannot possibly be rehabilitated while they retain any power or prestige. As Mr. Matsumoto shows in his article in this issue, our continuing to tolerate these individuals and the financial overlords who worked with and for them, has bewildered and disheartened



Bruce Russell in the Los Angeles Times

New Hope in the China Tea Leaves

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those Japanese who ought to be our friends and collaborators. The process which General MacArthur's new order has started should be continued until the monopoly power of great wealth in Japan is also broken. It is reassuring to see that the new currents which are beginning to sweep the State Department in Washington are reflected in the advice which MacArthur is getting—and following—from his State Department advisers in Japan. We hope the lesson will not be lost on the American leaders of Allied Military Government in Germany.

A Fine Appointment

It seems to us very good news that Judge William H. Hastie, Dean of the Howard University Law School, has been nominated by President Truman to be Governor of the Virgin Islands. Judge Hastie is not only an outstanding American Negro; he is an outstanding American, ranking with the best men who have been our colonial administrators and far above some of those who have previously filled the post for which he has been chosen. No doubt some of the professional Negro-haters in the Senate will display their customary apoplectic indignation that Judge Hastie should be selected to rule a population which includes representatives of both races. We hope that if so, they will be forced to stand up publicly and be counted in a vote. Sooner or later they will learn that the tides of opinion are running irresistibly against them, all over the world.

The FEPC

There is now a better chance that the bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission will be passed than at any other time since its introduction. The main reason is that the Republican leadership has decided that it is now sufficiently close to the 1946 campaign to be sure of receiving public credit for what it does.

Since last June, the bill has been blocked both in the House Rules Committee and on the Senate calendar. The Administration did not have enough votes in the Southern-Democrat-controlled Rules Committee to make good its pledge for an FEPC as far as the House was concerned. In the Senate, the Administration just stalled, right up until the recess, when a militant group of Republicans forced the issue. Republican Senators Morse, Ball, Smith, Young, Knowland, Tobey and Aiken anounced that they had joined together to force action on the bill, and almost immediately Senator Chavez (D, N. M.) also rose to say that he, too, planned to move to bring up the bill as soon as possible after Congress reconvenes. In the House, Republicans who had previously refused to sign the discharge petition to bring the measure to the floor because, they said, they would not get the credit if they did, now plan to force action at the first possible moment. Minority Leader Martin has pledged them to this. Those who understand the pressing importance of a permanent FEPC are delighted to see the Republicans preparing to back their platform. Their action will undoubtedly also stir the Administration to action. If this results in passage of the bill, the whole nation will have a real cause for gratitude to the GOP.

As UNO Meets

WHEN the General Assembly of the United Nations convenes for the first time on January 10, the victor governments will begin the great experiment to determine whether the horrors of World War II have filled people everywhere with a practical determination to keep that the last war in history. The General Assembly meets in a time of alarm and international instability. Can we build a system for lasting peace on the conflicts in Java, China, Iran and Turkey, on the deep resentment in the small nations against the world dominance of the Big Three, on the hatred of the American Russophobes for Moscow? We probably can, for peace today is a tough bird. Nothing proves it more convincingly than the simple fact that the General Assembly is about to meet, that the United Nations in 1946 is already a going concern.

The prospect that UNO will succeed is good if the nations can hold together in the midst of future quarreling as well as they have during the past twelve months. The aim of UNO is not so much to end the tendency of men and states to quarrel as to compose the quarrels that do break out and keep them from deteriorating into war. Each step of the way toward the establishment of UNO was blocked by international disagreement that seemed insurmountable at the time.

A year ago the organization was only a set of proposals that the United States, Russia, Britain and China had agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. Less than a year ago Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Josef Stalin decided at Yalta to invite the Allied governments to the conference at San Francisco where the United Nations Charter was hammered out. Before the San Francisco meeting opened, many respected Americans were urging that the United States postpone it because of the difference between this country and Russia over the Polish government. A large segment of public opinion condemned Russia during the conference because of her insistence on the veto—which the United States also insisted on. Relations among the great powers became strained as soon as the war ended, by the termination of lend-lease, by America's possession of and nationalistic attitude toward the atomic bomb, and by the "big-stick" policy toward Russia displayed in the London conference of Foreign Ministers

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last September and by the Truman-Attlee atomic-bomb agreement of November. Through that long series of crises, international unity and the desire for peace have survived. The fruit of the survival is the meeting of January 10 in London.

UNO comes into existence before a world more skeptical than that which saw the birth of the League of Nations after the First World War, 26 years ago. There is a healthy realization today that the end of war does not mean the end of disagreement. The critical importance of UNO is far greater than was that of the League, because war henceforth means war fought with the atomic bomb. Modern political skepticism and the United Nations machinery may together preserve us from destruction by the fissured atom if the countries that make up UNO preserve that desperate will to outmode war with which they emerged from the conflagration of the Axis. A few commentators have told us that, after all, machinery is meaningless unless it is used. The existence of the UNO machinery, however, almost forces upon the world the making of decisions about festering situations. In this respect alone UNO provides a useful protective apparatus.

The first Assembly meeting probably will accomplish little after the opening speeches. In the first place, the Assembly is an agency for debate rather than action, and the real operation of UNO will begin when the organization is established at its American home site and when the powerful Security Council is operating. In the second place, the one major issue that might be brought before it will probably be kept for a later occasion, because the Iranian government has decided to seek redress through another channel for its difference with Russia over the establishment of autonomous Azerbaijan. In the third place, the real task of UNO will start after the peace treaties are concluded with the satellites and after the territorial settlement of western Germany is decided upon. UNO has been created not to make the peace but to keep it. So the agreement reached at Moscow among the Big Three foreign ministers for the holding of a peace conference next May has an important bearing on the work of UNO.

For UNO to have lasting influence, it will be necessary that the powers great and small use it and no other agency to compose their differences and to inaugurate programs aimed at eliminating the traditional sources of national and international friction. The Big Three can destroy it if, after the peace treaties are made, they resort to exclusive ministerial conferences rather than to the Security Council or the Assembly or the Economic and Social Council or one of the auxiliary agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization. And they can destroy it if they try to develop within UNO a set of regional blocs, each attached to one of the great powers. The United States already has the skeleton of a bloc in the inter-American system. Russia already has the skeleton of a bloc in the Slav states in Eastern Europe. Now Britain is contemplating the development of such a bloc in Western Europe. Such blocs can hasten the return to the old-style balance-of-power system which worked with some good results in the nineteenth century but has been futile in the twentieth. The most certain route to the corruption and then destruction of all the hopes in UNO is through blocs and spheres of influence. The United States and Russia will do well by all the world if they minimize their regional interests and prod Britain to go along with them.

The first meeting of the General Assembly truly represents an occasion of hope. Out of it and the other organs of UNO can come the solutions for the basic questions of the day—international agreement upon atomic fission, abolition of colonialism, general elevation of the standard of living. The most important single question to which UNO in time will reveal the answer is whether the United States and Russia have the patience and wisdom to work together in dealing with the issues that arise each day in world affairs. The United States is more responsible than any other government for the existence of the United Nations. And Russia showed conclusively during the meeting of the UNO Preparatory Commission in London in November and December that she takes seriously the diplomacy of coöperation.

The Forgotten Longshoreman

A FEW DAYS AGO, William H. Davis, the arbitrator named by the Secretary of Labor to break the bargaining deadlock between the International Longshoremen's Association and the New York Shipping Association, announced a 20-percent pay increase for the dock workers. Other gains were granted the men, including a 40-hour week and two daily "shape-ups," or hiring sessions, instead of three. Joseph P. Ryan, the burly president of the ILA, quickly hailed the award, saying that it would "gladden the hearts of 30,000 longshore workers and their families."

Those who recall the longshoremen's bitter strike last October, which tied up the port of New York for 18 days, will note that the arbitrator's generous findings do not touch the issue of democracy inside the union—the basic issue which was beyond the arbitrator's province. The strike was precipitated by fear among the men that their union president, whom they derisively call "King" Ryan, was negotiating a bad contract with meager concessions, and that this contract would be "jammed down the men's throats without a vote," in keeping with the ILA's historic practice. The men walked out in protest against the dictatorship in their own union, knowing that the most favorable con-

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tract in the world would be meaningless in a system dominated by "King" Ryan. The public was allowed a glimpse into Ryan's waterfront. Hiring still takes place in the shape-up, a slave-market arrangement whereby the workers gather several times daily on the street, to be picked by a foreman for a few hours of casual labor.

In New York, one of the last ports where the shape-up survives, this system has been made the basis for innumerable rackets; the longshoreman must permit the foreman to dip into his pay envelope or somebody else will be picked in the shape-up; he will make contributions to a "club," to a spurious benefit fund, or borrow money from a petty union official at extortionate rates. The initiation fee of the ILA is $100, but bootlegged membership cards go for $30. Locals have only a vague knowledge of who and where their membership is, and more than one local maintains its office in the hat of a business agent. Elections are unknown, or a mockery; at one local, prayers were recited for the incumbent officers, after which they were declared reëlected. Supreme over the ILA, Ryan arranged to have himself made president for life at the 1943 convention of the International, with an annual salary of $20,000.

The rank-and-file longshoreman complains that it is worth a man's life to protest. The ILA is gangster-ridden, and "Ryan's goons" patrol the union, often enjoying a measure of coöperation from the waterfront policemen, who regard Ryan as a neighborhood benefactor and bulwark against "Reds" taking over the harbor. The most notable rank-and-file leader in recent years, Peter Panto, was murdered. The question of who killed Panto and placed his lime-encrusted body in a Jersey swamp has never been officially solved to this day.

New York's port, the world's greatest, is also one of the most chaotic and old-fashioned. The problem of "decasualizing" dock workers—ending the shape-up—has been solved in almost every port in the world by the simple device of the hiring hall. This calls for establishing a central bureau, or hall, from which men are dispatched to piers where and as they are needed, each man waiting his turn until the work has been rotated. This also ends the necessity of having hundreds of surplus men floating from one pier to another, while a ship awaits loading in another part of the port. The average peacetime wage of a majority of longshoremen is less than $25 weekly. Their housing, sanitation, working conditions, accident rate and social conditions are shocking. It is no wonder that the waterfront is one of New York's most malignant sources of crime and delinquency.

These conditions could not exist if the ILA were an aggressive, militant union. Nor could they exist if there were not a vicious overlapping of interests of certain politicians, the shipping companies and the overlords of the union. This coincidence of powerful interests has made public officials wary of wading into the waterfront too deeply. The combination has proved too much of a challenge in the past.

Mayor O'Dwyer, during the recent election, was charged by the Special Kings County Grand Jury with "laxity" for his failure, while district attorney, to clean up the Brooklyn waterfront rackets and their by-product of murders. It was charged that the district attorney's office gave special consideration and treatment, of a highly irregular nature, to waterfront suspects. A second Grand Jury presentment in December reported that Mayor O'Dwyer admitted in secret session that his office had "bungled" the air-tight murder case against Albert Anastasia, a Brooklyn gangster. One killing that had been ascribed to Anastasia was that of Peter Panto.

The new Mayor takes office under this cloud. Mr. LaGuardia has asked that "we give the new Mayor a chance to make good." Mayor O'Dwyer can make his chance by not waiting for the waterfront situation to roost on his new doorstep in the form of further presentments and a possible gubernatorial probe. He can go out and meet the situation boldly, dealing with the causes of a system which breeds crime and makes it possible for an alliance of gangsters and politicians to dominate the port. Mayor O'Dwyer, as well as "King" Ryan and the longshoremen, know that a 20-percent wage boost in no way alters the question as to who is master of the harbor. It is within the province of the Mayor's office to take the steps necessary to end the shape-up, the kick-back and all the other malodorous features of New York's waterfront. This does not require another probe; the facts are well known. What is needed is a public official who is prepared to take the necessary action. And since Mayor O'Dwyer has been under attack for his failure to act regarding the waterfront while he was district attorney, he can dispel any doubts and fears by proceeding on his own initiative in this as Mayor.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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GM v. the Rest of Us

by Walter P. Reuther

More than 325,000 General Motors workers and members of their families are on strike and walking picket lines in a hundred American towns and cities. They are determined to win the first major home-front battle for a peace of full production, full consumption and full employment, year in and year out.

The strike is solid. It has the full support of the entire CIO. Members and officials of other labor organizations support it. Church leaders, businessmen and others who have studied the record of our attempts at negotiation, at conciliation and voluntary arbitration have endorsed our basic contention, that purchasing power must match production and that the first step in making sure that it does is to maintain take-home pay.

We are convinced, as the result of our arithmetic based on published facts about the auto industry, about General Motors' past performance, about costs, prices, profits and the certainty of a market for capacity production for the next three years, that General Motors should and can pay 30 percent higher wage rates without increasing prices and at the same time make profits higher than the prewar level. We are convinced that the real reason why the GM management will not discuss the arithmetic, will not discuss its ability or inability to pay, will not even try to prove it can't pay, is simply that the facts and figures locked up in GM vaults would bear out the Union's case and prove beyond any question that GM can pay.

Actually, the Corporation in its letter of October 2, 1945, and in page ads appearing about that time throughout the nation, originally pleaded inability to pay. The letter rejected our August 18 wage demand as "unreasonable." The ads tried to frighten the public —and GM workers—into believing that higher wages would mean higher costs and, hence, higher prices. And that, said GM, would bring on inflation. The inference was that GM would have to pass any wage increase along to the consumer in higher prices. The fact that a postwar volume at least 50 percent above prewar would cut unit costs and permit higher wages, higher profits *and* lower prices to the consumer was omitted.

When we challenged GM representatives to produce the facts and figures to support their plea of poverty, GM shifted gears. Overnight, GM became the defender of "the prerogatives of management." We were told, day after day, that discussion of costs, prices, profits, production schedules and volume of production was wholly out of place in a discussion of wages. Wages, we were told, must be discussed "on their merits." We were given no hint of what this meant until on December 28, GM trotted out the cave-man of American labor relations, Walter Gordon Merritt, and presented him to the President's fact-finding board as the Corporation's mouthpiece.

Costs, prices and profits were "none of the Union's damn business." GM books were closed, even to GM stockholders.

Our proposal of arbitration was turned down as an "abdication of management."

GM representatives told us, and the public, that past experience meant nothing in relation to present and future operations, that prices were set on "hopes" of what the traffic would bear, and that management was entitled to whatever profits resulted from the whole hit-or-miss operation.

As against this crystal-ball approach, let me quote from the findings of the National Citizens' Committee:

> Considerable data from the General Motors Corporation and United States Government reports were submitted by the Union in support of its contention that the Corporation can afford a substantial wage increase without raising prices. Outside of a flat denial based upon sources not open to the Union, to this Committee or to the public, no convincing evidence has been submitted by the Corporation to show that the Union's wage proposal cannot be met.
>
> While future profits cannot be computed with absolute certainty, it is common practice to base the prospects of them upon experience and estimated volume and costs. The Union is asking that wages be projected in such a forecast as other costs factors and profits are projected. It is the consensus of the Committee that the Union is making a legitimate claim in asking that wages be negotiated in terms of future expectations.

In the light of these words, consider GM's defiance of the President's fact-finding board and of the President's own wage-price policy, set forth in his statements of August 18, October 30 and December 20. President Truman has declared that purchasing power must be maintained during reconversion by increasing wage rates while holding down prices. But when Union negotiators take the same stand, GM cries "revolution," "socialization," "regimentation" and the death of "free enterprise."

Walter P. Reuther is, of course, International Vice-President of the United Automobile Workers, and the leader in the present strike against General Motors.

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Twisting and turning in attempts to avoid negotiations based on the arithmetic, GM has made several offers to the Union. As long ago as October 19, we were offered a deal whereby, if we would join the Corporation in pressuring Congress to lengthen the normal work week from 40 to 45 hours, by amendment of the Wage-Hour Act, wage rates would be boosted enough to maintain take-home pay on a 45-48-hour week. GM President C. E. Wilson said this was necessary, because other nations (whose plants have been wrecked and manpower decimated by war) were going to work long hours at "subsistence wages."

This offer has been advanced again and again.

Then, we were offered a 13½-cent-an-hour increase, the Corporation reserving the right to use it to get higher prices from the OPA and the car-hungry public. This offer was used as the basis for a newspaper advertising campaign which sought to leave the impression that GM workers had been offered, and had rejected, weekly take-home pay 10 percent higher than in wartime. According to our best calculation, the $63.44 weekly wage (for a 45.6-hour work week) used in the ad is $2.75 too high, based on GM's own wage figures. But the most important fact about this ad, and about GM's whole attitude in this dispute, is the stubborn determination to turn the clock back, to put into effect a work week of 45-48 hours, to defy and defeat the national policy of maintaining purchasing power by increasing wages while holding down prices.

The Union is charged by the Corporation with making a broad attack on American industry and free enterprise. We feel that our demands, and our support of them by this strike, constitute an attempt to save American industry and free enterprise from committing suicide by liquidating some of its customers and underpaying the rest. There is nothing novel or revolutionary in our propasal that, in bargaining collectively with the Corporation, we consider costs, prices, profits, volume, market and other factors in the production picture. As the recently published Twentieth Century Fund study of collective-bargaining practices has pointed out, this has been done for years by employers.

THE GRIM FACT is that if free enterprise in America is to survive, it has got to work; it must demonstrate more than an ability to create earnings for investors; it must master the techniques for providing full employment at a high standard of living, rising year by year to keep pace with the annual increase in technological efficiency. Incidentally, this increment, estimated at more than 2.5 percent a year normally, may amount to more than 30 percent in the first three postwar years, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Free enterprise has got to demonstrate a willingness to adjust itself to national policies such as the present wage-price policy, now being appealed by GM from President Truman to Congress. Good will must be substituted for the obstructionism, arrogance and refusal to coöperate—the latter Mr. Truman's phrase—that have marked GM's conduct in this dispute.

GM's sudden concern lest "ability to pay" be used to push small employers to the wall must cause the one-time small competitors of the General Motors Corporation to turn over in their economic graves. The Union, in using "ability to pay" as one—not the only—factor in wage negotiations, can be relied on to be more considerate of small employers than the two-billion-dollar General Motors Corporation has ever been.

THE UAW-CIO in this case has repeatedly said: We are not going to operate as an economic pressure group. We refuse to act according to the principle of "Let's get ours and the public be damned." That is why we have not conspired with GM to bring about a longer work week—with millions of unemployed in prospect. That is why we have refused to pocket a wage increase and look the other way while the Corporation used it to extort a higher price.

We are part of the community. We intend to make progress *with* the community and not at the expense of the community.

The fight of the General Motors workers is a fight to save truly-free enterprise from death at the hands of its self-appointed champions. In the face of a threatened loss of $35 billion from the annual wage bill, it is a struggle to maintain purchasing power. It is a holding action, designed to forestall a disastrous deflation and to prepare the ground for an advance toward a $200-billion postwar economy. As such, this strike, now nearing the end of its second month, is the fight of every American worker, farmer, small businessman and professional worker. It is also the fight of every veteran coming home in search of a job and a tangible stake in the future of the country he saved from international fascism.

Labor is not fighting for a larger slice of the national pie. Labor is fighting for a larger pie. That is a national, not a sectarian, goal. Its achievement must be the task of every American who appreciates the wisdom of the statement made by Secretary of the Treasury Vinson last July: "The American people are in the pleasant predicament of having to learn to live 50 percent better than they have ever lived before."

This fight is being fought for keeps. Vinson, Truman, Snyder—all our political leaders—have uttered the words of faith and good intentions. They have declared, along with progressive industrialists and economists, that purchasing power is the key to prosperity. GM workers are on winter picket lines to make those words stick. They will go back to making automobiles when GM policy-makers stop sulking in their tents—when Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sloan realize that General Motors is not a sovereign power but an integral part of the total economy.

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What's Ahead for '46?

by Oscar Gass

As the year 1946 opens, the larger part of the administrative and technological job of reconversion is done. Factors tending to raise the price level and to expand economic activity are clearly dominant; these factors seem likely to prevail throughout 1946 and perhaps for some time thereafter. The general dominance of inflationary and expansionist tendencies in 1946 should impart a buoyant character to all economic activities and tend to soften the edge of even the most fundamental conflicts.

An expansion of the character and rate foreseeable does not preclude unemployment of the order of 10 percent of the total labor force, or nearly six million people, in the spring of 1946. It does not preclude the emergence of special postwar "distressed areas." Such an expansion is compatible also with grave difficulties for veterans in finding jobs at the wages they have come to expect. It will probably mean incomes below $1,500 per year for one-third of the people who will be employed.

As a result of the deliberate determination of Congress to "discipline" the labor force, we shall go through the reconversion period without a social-security system adequate even to avert severe hardship. In any case, workers involved in prolonged industrial disputes will often suffer grave privation: our peculiar standards of social equity recognize universally the rights of officers of corporations on strike to draw their salaries while denying commonly to striking workers even the minimum income provided by unemployment compensation.

The social truce of wartime was dissolved early in the progress of reconversion. Despite a wide concurrence in platitudes about full employment, "equitable" distribution of income and economic democracy, there is no national agreement on: (1) the respective functions of government and private profit-seeking enterprise in assuring full employment, (2) the principles which ought to determine the division of the national product, or (3) the role of government in relation to private monopolistic aggregations (of both capital and labor) in making price and wage decisions that are vital to the whole economy. At the moment, the third of these areas of difference (which is really merely a special group of issues compounded of elements of the first two) is to the fore. There is no reason to believe that issues of wage and price policy will become quiescent at any time during 1946. Later in the year, however, some of the heat now concentrated on wages and prices will probably be refocused on public policy with respect to social security, the character of the revenue system and the magnitude of government expenditures.

Reconversion Program. – The demobilization accomplished by our armed forces challenges comparison with any similar movement in world history. The total number of men and women in uniform reached a peak of 12,300,000 in July. V-J Day came in August. At the beginning of January, the strength of the armed forces is down to about eight million. By July, 1946, it is scheduled to fall to 2,600,000.

Munitions production has been drastically reduced, though further cuts are still possible. At the beginning of 1945, munitions production was scheduled at $60.8 billion for the year. In November, actual munitions production was at an annual rate of about $9.2 billion. Present schedules call for about $3.5 billion in 1946. The 1946 schedules still present considerable possibilities of further reduction.

Reconversion has not been impeded by the tying-up of contractors' funds in lengthy settlement negotiations. About 300,000 prime contracts have been terminated since V-J Day. Full payment has been made on about 230,000. The government has made advances to contractors equal to about two-thirds of the value of the 70,000 contracts not yet finally settled.

Disposal of government-owned surpluses has hardly begun. Between $50 and $55 billion of government-owned property (valued at cost) will probably be declared surplus. Up to now, final disposition has been made of only about $2.9 billion of this property.

Retooling for the manufacture of the principal consumers' durable goods—automobiles, washing machines, refrigerators, radios, etc.—has progressed more slowly than was forecast by the relevant industry in almost all cases. The poor performance has been due partly to strikes. It has been due partly also to the desire of suppliers, at every level of fabrication, to postpone deliveries until earnings would no longer be subject to excess-profits tax. A concurrent, but less potent, factor of delay has been producers' accumulation of inventories in expectation of higher prices.

Manufacturers of refrigerators, radios and electrical appliances hope to be producing at a rate three or four times their 1939 volume by mid-1946; producers of household laundry equipment and sewing machines

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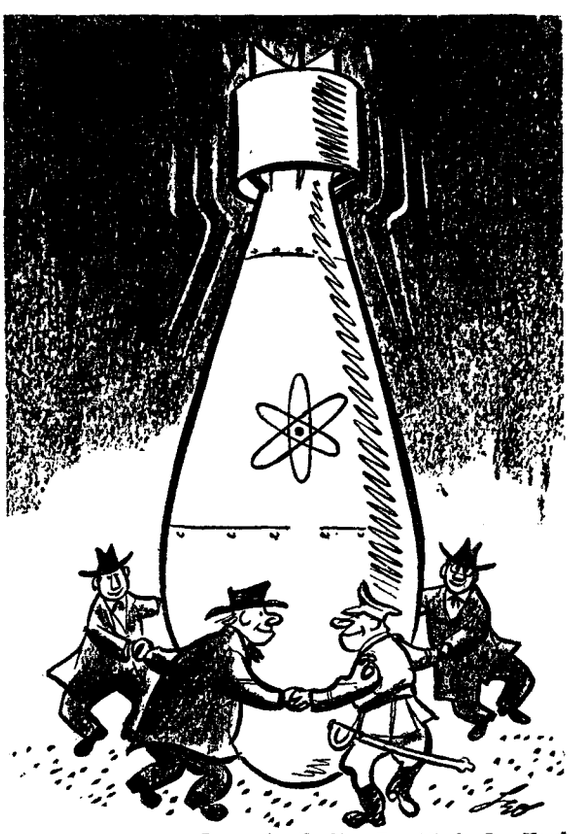
hope to double their 1939 output. The goal of the automobile industry is to reach an output of 1,600,000 passenger cars in the fourth quarter of 1946; this compares with an output which averaged just over 3,000,000 *per year* in 1935-41. Retooling difficulties are not likely greatly to upset these schedules. Labor problems and efforts to get higher prices will be much more important than technological difficulties in any underfulfilment of scheduled production.

The Economic Adjustment. – The period of decline in economic activity following V-J Day was unexpectedly short. By November, indicators of economic activity appeared to be turning decisively upward.

In the first half of 1945, gross national product was running at an annual rate of about $206 billion. The impact of the end of the war seems to have reduced total product by less than 15 percent in the last quarter of 1945. As a result of separation allowances, unemployment benefits and contract settlement, income payments to individuals probably declined less than half as much as total production.

The major blow of the end of the war-production program was concentrated in manufactures and minerals. But that blow seems already to have been fully absorbed. The Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production (seasonally adjusted) fell from an average of 235 in the first quarter of 1945 to 163 in October, but rose to 171 (preliminary) in November.

Along with the decrease in manufacturing employment has come some down-grading of jobs and a decrease—though not an elimination—of overtime work. Even in the summer of 1945, half of those employed in manufactures received less than 85 cents per straight-time hour and 20 percent received less than 65 cents per straight-time hour. A down-grading of 10 percent —which is not at all unlikely with the shift away from war industries—would mean a median hourly wage of 76.5 cents, or an annual income of $1,519.20 for 52 weeks of straight-time work.



Drawn for the New Republic *by Leo Hershfield*

Cordon Sanitaire

Unemployed applying for compensation numbered 2,141,000 in the week of December 1. It is probable that on January 1 the total unemployed numbered approximately three million. Perhaps three million of the veterans discharged since V-J Day have not yet entered the labor market. Their ranks will be swelled by discharges of about one million men per month in the early months of this year. It is not at all unlikely that, before the seasonal upswing begins in the spring, total unemployment will reach five or six millions.

Continuing Inflationary Pressures. – While the inflationary pressure generated by the discrepancy between incomes and supplies will obviously be much smaller in 1946 than it was in 1945, the disposition to control inflation is diminishing even more rapidly. There is no current political issue between strengthened fiscal control and continuance of direct price control; the issue is between some direct price control and none. The abandonment of all control would certainly be accompanied by immediate sharp rises in prices all along the line.

Even more disturbing to economic stability than the early complete abandonment of all control would be the certainty of abandonment in a few months combined with tight interim control. Should it become clear by spring that all price control is to be lifted on June 30, it would be desirable to remove controls over many commodities (but not rents and other services) immediately. Otherwise additional shortages and dislocations are sure to be created by inventory hoarding pending the price rise.

Since V-J Day businessmen have shown a stronger inflation psychology than during the war. They are stipulating increasingly for safeguards against price changes where long-term commitments are involved. During November wholesale prices reached their highest level in 25 years. The cost of living is probably now above the wartime (July, 1945) peak. The stock market is at a ten-year high. There is very active speculation in real estate.

Consumers, too, are willing to spend, in spite of the fact that they have not yet had the stimulus of a significantly enlarged variety of durable goods. During the six years 1940-45, individuals accumulated savings of about $150 billion. Though individual incomes declined after V-J Day, consumers' expenditures rose. Authoritative comprehensive figures are not yet avail-

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able, but it seems likely that they will show—comparing the last quarters of 1945 and 1944—a slight decline in income payments accompanied by an increase of about 10 percent in consumers' expenditures!

Construction will probably be the most acute area of inflationary pressure not only in 1946 but for some years thereafter. If freed of controls, the industry should enjoy an orgy of profiteering. Shortages of materials and time required for the expansion of construction organizations mean that only a small fraction of the demand for industrial, commercial and residential construction can be satisfied in 1946. Government economists anticipate an expansion in construction from $4.5 billion in 1945 to about $7.5 billion in 1946. Yet at best only about 500,000 new residential units seem likely to be built in 1946.

There has been much discussion in the past two years of a postwar federal revenue program which would involve a fundamental reconsideration of our tax system. Such a consideration is certainly long overdue. Many loopholes in the individual income tax need to be closed. A greatly enlarged conception of inheritance taxation should be made a central feature of our fiscal system. The role of excises should be drastically curtailed. The payroll taxes should be reduced or abolished. Yet one views the effort to achieve these and other tax reforms at the present time with mixed emotions. A new tax bill at this time would probably mean a bill with a lower yield and less effectiveness in inflation control. With the present complexion of Congress and the ineffectiveness of the Administration in winning its own party to the support of new ideas, it seems mere baseless optimism to anticipate any far-reaching improvements in the revenue system in 1946. It seems unwise also to count on the fiscal mechanism contributing more to inflation control than it is doing at present.

Toward Regulated Monopoly? – The present drift of government policy is toward the maintenance of price and production controls throughout 1946 in industries with acute supply shortages or where a few monopolistic firms are in a position to fix prices of great consequence for the rest of the economy.

Too much has been made in recent official statements of the desire to return all questions of prices and wages to the "free play of competitive forces." In fact, the alternatives in many of the most difficult cases are not public administration or private competition but public administration or private administration. In the face of nationally organized collective-bargaining units and industries with carefully synchronized price and labor policies, free competition has backed off the map.

The Washington emphasis on war-induced supply shortages as the sole justification for direct controls is not entirely candid. Control over the price of steel, for instance, would not be eliminated even if it were demonstrated that the demand could be met by using only 80 percent of the industry's capacity. Even at 80 percent of capacity operations, the industry might raise its prices concertedly to enhance profits. The rise in the price of steel would precipitate many other price rises throughout the economy. The consequences of such a price rise are as much a matter of public concern as a change in the schedule of an important federal tax.

In using its wartime regulatory powers—however hesitantly—to curb monopolistic exploitation of the public by strategically situated groups of capital and labor, the government is proceeding in an entirely unplanned manner. There is no reason to question the sincerity of public officers who profess that they are not developing a new permanent regulatory mechanism but are merely dealing with temporary reconversion adjustments. But permanence is not always a matter of the intent of the architect.

Incentives v. Stable Demand. – Discussion of public economic policy in the United States in 1946 seems likely to revolve increasingly around the relative importance of maintaining the "incentives" of the comparatively rich as against stabilizing the demand of the comparatively poor. Neither position need wholly exclude the other, yet—for public policy—the difference of emphasis is likely to be decisive.

The school that emphasizes the importance of incentives is impressed by the unavoidable uncertainties involved in conducting economic enterprises to satisfy consumers' preferences in a wealthy economy devoted to progress and innovation. It tends to see the road to economic growth in generous profit margins, a large share of profits in total income, large savings and moderate progression in taxation. Its wisdom is, in substance, "Preserve profits and savings or you shall not have prosperity. With greatly unequal rewards as a stimulating force, the economy will progress so that all classes of the population will be wealthier than they would be otherwise."

The position that puts to the forefront the maintenance of stable demand lays emphasis on the possibility of minimizing economic uncertainties (and consequent periods of widespread unemployment) by assuring a market. It tends to think in terms of social insurance to maintain consumers' incomes, government provision of jobs when other employment fails, a large share of income going to those who consume, and steeply progressive taxation. Its basic convictions may be stated in the following manner: "Maintain demand. Avoid idle resources. With comparative equality of income, consumption will be high, and even investment will be greater than in an economy where great inequalities of income lead to prolonged periods of unemployment."

The conflict between these two views will emerge in a great variety of issues of public economic policy during 1946.

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Japan's Election

by Tsuyoshi Matsumoto

SOME TIME SOON the people of Japan will go to the polls, including some 11 million women over the age of 21, if all having the new right to vote avail themselves of the privilege. Except for their enfranchisement under the revised election law, nothing much will be gained in the coming general election. It will only prove what we already know. And it will make it painfully clear that the United States is losing the peace in Japan.

During the month of October, the Department of Welfare sponsored conferences at which politically alert women met government officials and discussed various problems of women's place in politics and government. The net result of these meetings was aptly summarized by Fusae Ichikawa, spokeswoman of the "guests." Said she: "You men [officials] are still telling us women what to do and how to do it. But no more, thank you!" A recent dispatch from Tokyo disclosed that these women, without any assistance from men, had organized themselves. The Japan Women's League announced on November 17, 1945, that it would attempt to win 50 of the 464 seats of the lower house of the Diet at the coming general election. It is significant that nearly all the women chose their own independent political organ rather than join the four existing parties. Theirs is the only group that includes no members with dubious political records. Most of them are writers by profession, middle-aged women educated in the 1910's and '20's, with strong missionary influence, liberal and democratic; some have the background of labor movements in the '20's, with Socialist overtones. Most Japanese men look down on women, especially on such as challenge male supremacy. The Japan Women's League will do very well if its candidates win five seats. Win or lose, they will let the arrogant men of their society know that the women of new Japan can't be pushed around any more.

Shinnosuke Abe, feature columnist for the Tokyo *Mainichi*, wrote: "The only good that will come out of it [the general election] will be the emancipation of our women." Then, answering critics who denounced the liberalization of the election law, he said: "If we do not free our women and give them an opportunity for political training, they never will be so trained. True, they are ignorant and unprepared; but this general election is the necessary first step they must be permitted to take."

The women of Japan will have a voice. But what are they going to say? This writer believes that they will have nothing new to say, except to reiterate that the women of Japan wish to be heard. They will say yes or no to what the men propose; and what the men are going to say is not much at that.

THERE ARE four new political parties: (1) The Minhonto, headed by Toshio Shimada, moderator of the lower house, with 250 veteran MP's who expect to be reëlected this time. The party wanted Prince Konoye for its official chief and was negotiating with him at the time of his suicide. Obviously, this group has most of the reactionary and conservative elements of the former Seiyukai and Minseito Parties, professing to be moderates, democrats and progressives. (2) The Jiyuto, led by Ichiro Hatoyama, with 50 MP's, including some "independents." They expect to capture 150 seats in the lower house. This group is the Minhonto's nominal opposition; perhaps it has a few more truly regenerated moderates than the Minhonto. (3) The Shakaito, or Socialist Party, which hopes to obtain 100 seats. (4) The Kyosanto, or Communist Party, of which the reactionary Japanese American Utah *Nippo* remarked, quoting a Tokyo paper: "A small minority not worth bothering about."

It is conceded that Socialist candidates will receive a heavy popular vote, but the party will not win a majority. The Communists will be totally defeated; they may prove less popular than the Women's League. The Jiyuto seems a little more popular than the Minhonto, primarily because its individual members are liked. Whether it can be the majority party in the lower house remains to be seen.

The most important issue to be decided is still, of course, the form of government. Japanese politicians have already decided that question. The Communist Party alone plainly states its central program: "The emperor system must go!" All the rest of them have, in one form or another, proclaimed the two following "major programs": (1) "The protection of the system of government by the absolute and changeless emperor"; and (2) "The united front against communism and liberalism." But why "liberalism"? The implied definition of "liberal" seems to be anyone who is not a professed Communist but opposes the emperor system. The two programs are one; two methods,

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positive and negative, for the cause of *tennocracy*—to coin a word for oligarchy through the emperor. After the general election, therefore, the remodeled government of Japan will be a totalitarian regime, a group dictatorship, though outwardly divided into partisan blocs, with very strong National-Socialist overtones, based vaguely on the "changeless national polity of a constitutional monarchy" (something that only Japanese politicians profess to know, mystically), trying to serve both the Japanese people and General MacArthur at the same time.

IT IS SACRILEGE even to raise the question of the emperor system and ask the people to vote on it," is the consensus of Japanese politicos. The story has been widely circulated by the Japanese press that General MacArthur, at the time of Hirohito's visit, "thanked His Majesty for having made the bloodless occupation possible." "General MacArthur," commented the the Utah *Nippo* (characterized above), "very politely offered to coöperate with His Majesty and carry out His Majesty's wishes as much as he can within the limits of the United States occupation policy, it is reported." The United States has failed to make it clear that "utilizing" the institution of the emperor in order to expedite peaceful occupation was not tantamount to approval or endorsement of that institution. MacArthur's "friendly coöperation," as Japanese leaders conceive the occupation, has boosted Japan's tennocracy.

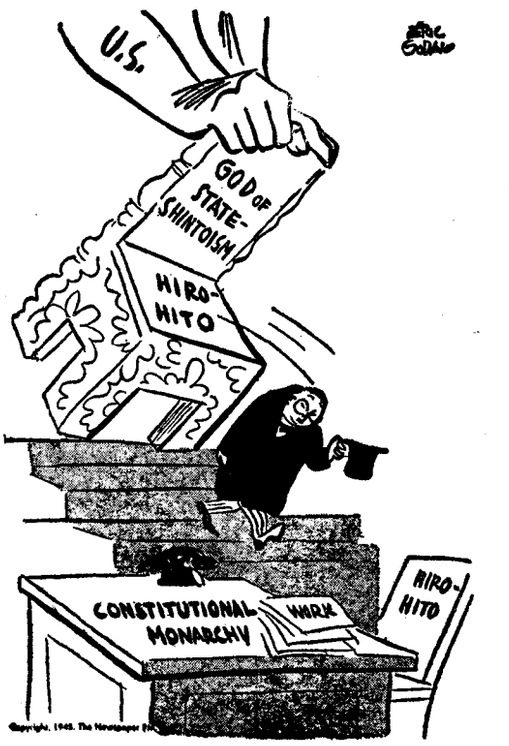
Complying with American demands, these leaders will put on a good show in the general election. They are all advocates of "democracy." But they have already told MacArthur that "democracy can't be the kind that the United States has. It has to be modified to fit the peculiar national polity of Japan." Democracy, or "people-sovereign-government," as the Japanese say, is something to talk about, not a practical political theory. They have no clear concept of what democratic government is, how it is organized, how it operates, how it differs from theocracy, monarchy, oligarchy, bureaucracy, Japan's tennocracy. Their idea of democracy is the inviolable god-emperor visiting the plebeian soldier MacArthur (who, they think, doesn't know the first thing about social graces or etiquette) and bearing it all with a grin.

The general election will prove one more thing: The United States has all but vanquished the common people of Japan and has liberated the Old Gang from their opposition, the militarists. We have strengthened Japan's tennocracy; the "moderates," who once had to be content with crumbs from the militarists' table, have gained control, through the occupation, of the Throne and the people. We have freed Japanese Communists only to subject them to the new top dog. Opposition to communism is now an excuse to fight truly democratic movements at home and democracies abroad, especially the United States. There is no freedom of expression in occupied Japan as regards General MacArthur, the occupation, United States occupation policy, American democracy. To blow off steam, violent attacks on communism and insinuations and insults are directed against Russia, China and the colonial powers. A few American experts who not only understand the press doubletalk of the Japanese but his psychology as well, may know what he is doing and saying these days. If so, they know that the United States is losing the peace in Japan.

Many thousands of Japanese are dying of hunger and cold. No political theory can help them. The general election in January is a mockery in the face of 30 million destitute victims of war and a poor offering to some million-odd who may be in the grave by the time the polls close. Next to starvation and cold and death is unemployment. Between 35 and 45 million ex-soldiers and industrial workers and their families are not working. Will they go to the polls?

By means of the general election the Old Gang of Japan will tell us: (1) that the expressed will of the Japanese people stands in favor of tennocracy, unanimously; (2) that the occupation is a complete success because Japan has been democratized; (3) that Japan is the only practical democracy in the Far East; (4) that, therefore, Japan should be strengthened as a buffer state against the Communist bloc; (5) that the regenerated government of Japan will need only nominal supervision, if any, and will appreciate it if the United States will withdraw from Japan soon.

We have won the war brilliantly. We have won the occupation peacefully. So peacefully and painlessly that we may be losing the peace in Japan.



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How Big Will Postwar Profits Be?

by George Soule

PROFITS RECEIVED during the war, say corporate spokesmen, are irrelevant to present wages, prices and employment. They are merely the result of conditions which no longer exist. You can't keep going long on past profits. The question is, what will happen next?

That is, indeed, the question, but it is scarcely correct to say that past profits have nothing to do with the answer. The war brought enlarged capacity to many important industries. It also brought enormous liquid assets. The decisions concerning what shall be done with this capacity and this ready money (probably over $50 billion in excess of that which business had in 1939) will have much to do with what will happen next—and next after that.

FULL-PRODUCTION PROFITS

Let us assume that business finds it possible to make and sell as much as it did during the war, and is willing to do so. It has the necessary plant and equipment for the job. It has the money to finance it. If by any chance funds are required which are not already in corporation treasuries, the banks and the booming financial markets will be glad to supply all that is needed. In spite of the confusion of shifting employment during reconversion and shortages in some occupations, the labor supply as a whole will be ample for this objective. While two or three million may retire from industry, there will be three or four times that many returning from the armed forces. The employment of servicemen would at least balance the shortening of the working week to forty hours.

Of course there are sharply diminished orders for ships, planes, tanks, guns and ammunition; production of such strictly war supplies has shrunk. But there is an urgent demand for construction of houses, industrial and commercial buildings, for railroad equipment, automobiles, electrical goods, clothing, household supplies. It is a rare retailer who is not overburdened with inquiries for articles that are out of stock, a rare manufacturer who can produce civilian goods rapidly enough to satisfy his customers.

In most cases the technical changeover is not difficult or unduly expensive, and in most cases it is already completed or is well on the way. The market, as a whole, will be limited only by what consumers have to spend. Certainly it is not fantastic to assume that business can, given sufficient spending power by consumers, make and sell as large a volume of goods and services for peace as it did for war.

Corporate profits are officially estimated at $9.9 billion for 1944. That was more than twice as large as in 1939. If business can sell as much annually when it gets going again, and the spread between its costs and its ceiling prices remains the same, it can therefore make as much as in 1944, *plus* what the government took away in excess-profits taxes. (Excess-profits taxes do not apply after January 1, 1946.) The Department of Commerce estimates corporate profits in 1944, before federal taxes, as $25 billion. Assume roughly, as a maximum estimate, that the regular income tax would take 40 percent of that amount. There would then be $15 billion left. On these not impossible assumptions, *postwar profits can be 50 percent larger than in the last full year of war; and they can be three or four times larger than profits in the last full year of peace.*

PRICES AND LABOR COST

Will the spread between costs and prices remain in fact the same as during the war? This is an intricate question, to which no certain answer can be given. There seems little likelihood that prices will soon have a falling tendency, because demand in nearly every market so greatly exceeds supply. Price control is under heavy attack and will probably not be extended beyond June, 1946. Some supplies might catch up with demand, though there seems little likelihood of this outcome in such important areas as building, automobiles, textiles and clothing. Certainly there is no sharp drop of prices on the horizon, even if no sharp rise occurs. But will costs rise?

Labor costs are, for industry as a whole, the major element of expense. While they may constitute a relatively small percentage in any given establishment as compared with the cost of materials, those materials themselves embody labor costs. Even the price of capital equipment is, in the ultimate, paid out partly to labor. Will costs therefore rise because of general wage increases?

Labor costs have already been reduced since V-J Day merely by the reduction in weekly hours. Take the typical case of a plant which pays a standard rate for a forty-hour week plus time-and-a-half for over-

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This is the second of a series of articles under the general title, "Profits by the Billion." The next article will discuss the question whether, as General Motors and other corporations contend, profits and prices are strictly their private affair. — THE EDITORS

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time. If during the war it worked for forty-eight hours and now has gone back to forty hours, it has saved an average of nearly eight percent an hour. (The reduction in weekly pay to the worker is of course much more than this.) An increase in the standard wage rate of about eight percent would therefore not increase labor costs at all.

Even more important, however, is the probable gain in output per hour. Labor cost falls, at a given wage, as hourly output rises. There is a controversy concerning whether productivity rose or fell during the war. It can never be finally decided, because there is no way to know definitely how much output increased, in physical terms, in the war industries. Take a plant which in 1939 was making automobiles and in 1944 was making tanks, planes and anti-aircraft artillery. Consider also the changes in the models of these weapons as the war progressed. How many six-cylinder sedans equal one 1944 tank? No answer to such a question can be more than a rough statistical abstraction.

We do know that the man-hours required per unit of product in manufacturing were reduced about 56 percent in the 20 years between 1919 and 1939. This means that labor cost, if the same hourly wages had been retained, would have been more than cut in half. The average gain in productivity for the period was about 2½ percentage points a year. If we can expect the same rate of gain (for peacetime products) between 1939 and 1946, it would total for the six years 15 percent. If this is true, hourly wages could be raised somewhat more than 15 percent, plus the 8 percent made possible through the elimination of overtime, without increasing labor cost at all. This, of course, is a general average for all manufacturing. It does not necessarily apply to any given establishment or to occupations in which gains in productivity may be more, or less.

There is reason to expect an even greater gain in hourly output over the next few years. The index of man-hours per unit of product remained about stationary between 1914 and 1919—the years of the First World War. It was a period of rapidly shifting employment, of change in nature of products, of shortages and bottlenecks, when efficiency could hardly be expected to increase. After the war, when the improvements in machinery and methods installed during the conflict began to take effect, however, there was an extremely rapid advance in efficiency. In manufacturing it amounted to nearly 27 percent in the three years 1919-22, or nine points a year.

One of the reasons assigned by students of the subject for this startling gain is that the purchasing power of wages increased rapidly at the same time. Relatively high wages provided an incentive for employers to economize labor by installing more productive machinery, while the market for goods absorbed all they could turn out, by the end of the period.

Chairman Krug of the War Production Board has estimated, on the basis of information received from 42 industries, that production after the war can be 87 percent above the 1939-41 average, with employment only 33 percent above that level. That would mean a gain of about 30 percent in output per worker.

Even if wages are increased generally and considerably, therefore, costs may not rise; they may even fall.

Thus there seems to be little immediate likelihood of a general narrowing of profit margins, either by fall of prices or by rise of labor costs. If business produces anything like its war volume, profits should be gigantic. Even if rising wages do increase costs, while falling prices squeeze margins at the other side, corporations could share about $10 billion with wage-earners and consumers without having smaller profits than they had in 1939. If devoted to wages solely, this amount would suffice to increase the workers' earnings about one-quarter above the prewar level.

Low-Production Profits

Now let us suppose that the corporations, in spite of their greatly enlarged capacity, their overflowing treasuries and the abundant labor available, do not produce and sell any more than they did before the war. What would happen to their profits?

It is ordinarily supposed that a big investment in productive equipment means big fixed charges, which rapidly eat profits away unless sales are correspondingly large. It might be inferred that overhead expense arising from the war expansion would be a strong incentive to augmented production.

Not at all. The great companies were reluctant to expand their capacity in the period of defensive rearmament, because they were afraid they would be caught with heavy charges in just this way when the war was over. There was, for instance, a big battle over steel capacity. In order to get huge armament rolling, the government had to safeguard business against risk of loss from possible "excess capacity."

Government built at its own expense many munitions plants and farmed them out to the private corporations as contractors. These companies now have the choice whether to continue operating them or not, and if they decide against acquiring the plants they can withdraw without losing a cent.

Government paid directly for much of the new war machinery, and must remove it promptly if the owner of the plant in which it was installed doesn't now want it. No financial risk whatever to the contractor is involved. Most such machinery has already been removed.

Any other plant or machinery acquired by the war contractor could, according to tax law, be completely amortized in five years, and after that is available for production at no overhead cost whatever. The big year

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of defense expansion was 1941, and every plant built or machine bought for war production in that year will in 1946 become costless to the producer.

Little money was borrowed by industry to finance war expansion. There is therefore little interest to pay on the enlarged plant. Nor was much money raised for the expansion by sales of new stock, and so few dividend obligations have arisen out of the war.

Business could simply shut down its additional plant and go back to 1939 production—and larger than 1939 unemployment—without any noticeable penalty from additional fixed charges. That is what it prepared to be able to do before the war started, and government had to assure it the privilege of doing so in order to get the necessary arms.

Government Guarantees Prewar Profits

The tender care taken of business enterprise did not stop, however, with enlisting its coöperation by such guarantees. Suppose a business actually makes less in the reconversion period than it did before the war. That might happen because wages had risen enough to increase labor costs. Or it might happen simply because less was produced and sold than before the war. But there is a government guarantee in the tax law to meet that contingency, too.

It is called the *carryback*. That is an innocent word. In reality it is a government subsidy to profits which may fall below the prewar level, in the case of any company which has paid excess-profits taxes. It is the final word in making war costless to private enterprise.

Let us see how it works, for example, in the case of General Motors. *The carryback guarantees that GM profits in 1946 will not shrink more than 16½ cents out of every dollar by which they are lower than the 1936-39 average.*

The details are far from simple, but here is the explanation, in round figures. In 1936-39, GM's profits before federal taxes were about $250 million. It had to pay a 40-percent income tax on what it earned. Its net income after taxes thus averaged about $150 million. During the war it also had to pay an 85.5-percent excess-profits tax on everything it earned above $250 million.

Now, suppose that in 1946 GM earns before taxes only $200 million. Its net after taxes would therefore be about $120 million. But, since its profits before taxes would be $50 million less than in 1936-39, it could refigure its taxes for 1945 and 1944 by adding that $50 million to the portion of its war income which was not subject to excess-profits taxes. It thus would get a tax refund of 45.5 percent of $50 million—45.5 being the difference between 85.5 percent and 40 percent. The government would give it about $21,750,000. This would bring its 1946 profit after taxes to $141,750,000.

So, in 1946, though it may actually have earned $50 million less than in 1936-39, the government would hand out to it enough so that its profits become only $8,250,000 less. In this way GM would get back all but $8.25 out of every $50 of shrinkage in 1946 profits below prewar, or all but 16½ cents out of every dollar of shrinkage.

The same guarantee applies to every company which has paid excess-profits taxes, to the extent of those tax payments. If a company's excess profits had been large enough, it could just shut down in 1946, and receive from the government most of the profit it averaged before the war. In addition there would be the resources it has piled up for itself in the form of currency, bank deposits and bonds. At least $50 billion of war savings are available in these forms to finance business through a period of idleness.

It makes no difference what the reason for the restriction of production and sales is—these cushions are provided for business to fall on. If there is a depression brought on by forces for which business shares no responsibility, the corporations can ride it out with little inconvenience to their executives or owners. If they restrict production to get higher prices, they are assured of the same relief. The government will bear most of the cost of any sitdown strike by capital in 1946. It will even contribute nearly nine-tenths of any corporate losses due to strikes by labor. The executives can thus try to wear down unions and let the United States Treasury pay the bill.

In Michigan, where most of the GM strikers live, unemployment insurance is not paid to men on strike. Unemployment benefits are set at a level considerably lower than normal earnings, are not paid until after a "waiting period," and even then cease after a few weeks. Great care has been taken not to support workers in voluntary idleness. Unemployment benefits are not paid to men who refuse suitable employment opportunities. But, under our present tax laws, no such safeguards surround the classical incentive of profit and loss to business. The lure of profit remains, but the risk of loss is removed. Business can stop working or curtail its activities for any reason or no reason, and still get by. It can draw on the public treasury to do so.

We may assume that the purpose of Congress in permitting this condition to exist was to make sure that business had enough money to live through the uncertainties of remobilization for peace production and to finance future expansion. By the same policy, however, Congress has provided the private resources for financing deflation and contraction, or to carry on a long war against unions.

Business may gain enormously if it does produce stabilized prosperity. But it has little to lose if it does not do so. That is, not under existing laws. What a depression might do to the relation between government and business is a different matter.

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Washington Notes

Congress and Truman's Speech

CONGRESS, as I write, is about to reassemble. Presumably every member had his ear glued to the radio for President Truman's speech of January 3; has been talking with friends at home and reading home-town newspapers since, trying to figure out what the public thinks about it. Will there be any change in Congress as a result of the speech? Some, perhaps; but it's hard to say.

Mr. Truman has put a number of committee chairmen and poll-tax Democrats on the spot for holding up specific items of his program: the House Ways and Means Committee, which is blocking the bill to supplement state unemployment-insurance benefits; the reactionary House Rules Committee, where the FEPC bill is stalled. But when all is said and done, these items aren't the biggest issues that confront Truman.

The full-employment bill is a big issue, but failing Truman intervention in the House, a capon version passed that body and a set of House ultra-reactionaries was sent to confer with Senate leaders to work out a compromise. On this issue Mr. Truman spoke too late.

Inflation is a big issue, but Mr. Truman didn't center his fire on it; he mentioned in the same breath both inflation and deflation. I may be mistaken, but I suspect this is because Mr. Truman is going to open the way to a little inflation himself. I think he is going to take the way out in the threatened steel strike of telling the OPA to allow a boost in prices. Mr. Truman sees the stalled production machine, and probably feels that any price is cheap that starts it going again. Actually he is buying his way out, if he takes this line, at dangerous cost.

Congress has been inclined to disregard Mr. Truman on domestic issues. He has made his frank bid now to the public and, in a sense, submitted his case to a curious kind of referendum. No other President that I can recall ever made quite such a direct appeal for support over Congress. If the support isn't forthcoming, it's not hard to believe that Congress will disregard Mr. Truman more than ever, from now on, on domestic issues. He deserves strong support.

I must put in some personal reservations, however, about the speech. Mr. Truman devoted a third of it to defending his fact-finding, cooling-off labor program, which I think is a dud. Maybe I am wrong, but I think there are plenty of "facts" now, as the GM panel should indicate, while the 30-day cooling-off proposal is too risky for labor to accept, and threatens to alienate Mr. Truman's largest minority bloc.

Here as elsewhere in the speech, I thought Mr. Truman dealt too much with details rather than principles. Mr. Truman says the public wants "action." Maybe; I'm more inclined to think much of the public wants normalcy; the middle class, at least, is apathetic to those very social reforms and economic safeguards which the President backs. Mr. Truman's job is to sell the public a fundamental philosophy, to tell it why it simply can't slip back into inertia and stagnation now, and to drive the reasons home. In a sense, of course, Mr. Truman did this. He listed seven or eight important bills and demanded passage. Well and good. But there wasn't time to explain these bills. The public heard their names and little more. Yet these bills, for the most part inherited intellectual capital from Franklin Roosevelt, have a common denominator: they represent human rights v. property rights; they propose a more equable distribution of national income; they safeguard the nation against the cumulative dangers of economic maladjustment.

There is a good homely tone in Mr. Truman's delivery: you feel his sincerity, his honesty, his good will. He doesn't make enemies. But can a President who doesn't make enemies really be successful? One thing is certain: now he has flung down the gauntlet, there can be no drawing back. His coming address to Congress and the budget message will be new opportunities to hammer his point of view home.

America's present two-party set-up is absurd. America will have better government and immeasurably deeper political education when she ultimately gets political parties that stand for something more than the difference between the "ins" and the "outs." Franklin Roosevelt made both wings of the Democratic Party flap together because he had a great gift for leadership, a great depression, and then a great war. It seems doubtful if Mr. Truman can hold his uneasy coalition together much longer. His speech was really a flagellation of those Southern, conservative congressional leaders, within his own party, who have stalled his domestic program. They hate the Democratic liberals. And yet, since these reactionaries are Democrats, Mr. Truman must compromise in his words and pull his punches. The Republicans are split, too: their wings are as far apart as Bob Taft and Wayne Morse.

In this mix-up a few years ago came the clarifying agency, the CIO-PAC. It really stands for something. And its conservative counterpart and antagonist, the "PPAC"—People's Political Action Committee—is soon to be launched in Ohio and Minnesota. I hope the PPAC won't take it amiss when I wish it good luck. Maybe the times call for new party labels and new alignments. It would be nice to see the conservatives all on one side.

Canada's family-allowance program is worth noting in the present U. S. strike situation. Last July, Canada began paying monthly allowances, ranging from $5-$8 a child, to every family in the dominion, as a matter of right, not charity. Instead of subsidizing farmers, labor or industry, Canada voted to subsidize families. The payments go on, strike or no strike. Thus, while a Detroit GM striker with three small children, in dead of winter may be wondering where the next meal is coming from, the Canadian striker in parallel circumstances is sure of some $16 to $18 a month. MacKenzie King specifically cited, as a secondary benefit of this revolutionary economic balance wheel, that under it strikes would not be crushed simply by the weight of overwhelming monetary power directed against women and children. It can be argued that anything which ameliorates the usual strike aftermath of raw hatred by making

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it easier for strikers' families is a good thing. The United States at present, by quaint tax laws, in effect pays lock-out benefits to corporations. Canada, on the other hand, thinks of the human element—even in strikes.

Canada's family-allowance law means distribution of $250 million annually. The equivalent for the United States, a dozen times the size, might be $3 billion. Is America conservative? Test it by considering the chances of passing such a law now in Washington! Yet this law passed the Canadian Commons, in 1944, without dissent.

Washington T. R. B.

Science and Technology

Bovine Tuberculosis

TUBERCULOSIS in cattle is an extremely serious matter, affecting human beings. At least one type of pulmonary tuberculosis can be transmitted from cattle to man, and vice versa. To prevent such infection, pasteurization of milk is employed, and as a double check, most civilized countries endeavor to stamp out bovine tuberculosis by killing herds of cattle in which it is discovered. In the United States alone, this has in the past cost hundreds of millions of dollars annually. At present, it is believed that not more than one percent of the herds in this country are infected.

In Great Britain during the war, and for emergency reasons, the percentage of tuberculosis infection has risen much higher. Lord Bledisloe, speaking a few months ago in the House of Lords, stated that probably 40 percent of all the cattle in the country were diseased, and in some areas, such as the Midlands, the figure has risen as high as 90 percent. Since the infection can be transmitted from man to animals, there is constant danger of reinfection even in a district where all cattle with t.b. have been slaughtered. Dr. A. W. Wight, tuberculosis specialist of the Federal Bureau of Animal Industry, in this country, has stated that a single individual has been known to spread an infection among as many as four herds before being identified as the source of the trouble.

It is, therefore, important news that a vaccine has been developed in Great Britain which seems to hold out a good hope that bovine tuberculosis can be completely eradicated. The story of its development is itself a remarkable one.

In England there exists a field rat called the vole; and naturalists long ago noticed that the numbers of the vole seemed to fluctuate from year to year in an extraordinary way. It was finally determined that this cycle was occasioned by the greater or less seriousness of an epidemic disease among the voles paralleling t.b. among cattle. The similarity was so striking that for some time it was thought that the two diseases were identical; but this was finally proved not to be the case. Work conducted by the Agricultural Research Council, a governmental institution, resulted in a remarkable discovery. If a vaccine made from the blood of a diseased vole was given to calves, the calves appeared to be immune to tuberculosis from that time forward. The vaccine is of no value in cattle which have already developed the disease; but it seems extraordinarily effective in herds where the taint has not yet appeared. The experiments are so new that the scientists, with their traditional conservatism, have not yet reached a point where they are prepared to say that it is 100-percent effective; but the outlook is highly encouraging.

Simultaneous with this work on bovine tuberculosis have come some notable advances in the field of human t.b. in the United States. Streptomycin, the remarkable new antibiotic recently developed from soil bacteria, which in many instances is more powerful than penicillin, has been used with noteworthy results in the case of certain rare types of tuberculosis. This is especially true of tuberculosis of the kidneys and the bladder and what is called miliary tuberculosis, where the infection spreads rapidly through the entire system. This work is still only in experimental stages and the treatment is not yet available for general practice. Streptomycin is less effective with pulmonary tuberculosis, though even there it seems to have some degree of inhibitory effects. The experiments are still going on, and are being watched with interest by the entire medical world.

B. B.

Counter-Reformation in Prints

ELIE FAURE, in his *History of Art*, has a charming passage in which he describes the relation of the Greek figurine in terra cotta to the major works of sculpture. It is that of a reflection, he says, as compared to the great light of the focus. At first timid, it becomes more powerful and luminous, and "when the focus is growing pale, the little reflection, on the contrary, becomes a shining point of light in the gathering shadow."

With certain allowances, the same relationship holds between prints and paintings, as exemplified by an exhibition of engravings and etchings now open at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The question is not one of the persistence of genius in the black and whites at a time of decadence, for the period here covered, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was a time of vigorous development. But we are shown, as never before in this country, how the art of the print at this period continues—even more than it reflects—the greater art of painting. Thus we see here original wood cuts, chiaroscuro prints and other forms of engraving by various men, reflecting the art of Titian, and doing it well enough to tell us something of his genius, were the world deprived of all his canvases. Here is an etching by Rubens so prodigious in its power to bring us into contact with that Olympian that we scarcely realize the absence of the one quality associated beyond all others with his name, which of course is his color. Here are works by Carracci which tell of the "silver age" of painting (as compared with its "golden age"); here is Caravaggio in a print that is evidently from his own hand, especially when we compare it with another plate in the show, one which reproduces a painting by the master.

And then one feels again how impossible is the reproduction of a work of art. For the original print gives us the immediate experience of Caravaggio's mastery, whereas the copy of his picture remains comparatively lifeless: did one not know that it was done after another work, one

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would sense the fact, even as one does with an ancient marble which one immediately calls a Roman copy after a Greek work. Has one seen the original or a photograph of it? No, it may even have been destroyed in the past, and no written record of it may survive. But the flagrant contrast between a great conception and cold execution tells with a convincing quality that is absolute how far from the creative spirit we are in the work before us.

The lesson to be learned from such an experience applies immeasurably beyond the limits indicated by the reproduction here considered. For if we bring ourselves to the point of recognizing the note of mastery, the thing that gives new vision to the world (as Caravaggio did), we are far along the road to seeing the most significant quality that can be found in any art. "Create or perish" was Ruskin's warning. It has the most important bearing on the problem of modern art: thirty-odd years ago, when Picasso and Braque embarked on the great adventure of Cubism, the very audacity of their effort, its adding something to what had been known before, was enough to justify them in their departure from the idea that had hitherto been universal in European painting, which is to say the progressive conquest of an ability to represent nature. Today, when a new academism is diluting away the power attained by the masters of "abstraction," the creative artist finds his way out of the labyrinth by facing the old sphinx of nature with eyes trained by the preceding school but not enslaved by it.

That is the essential character of the Baroque period, to take another of the names for this time, which the museum treats as that of the Counter-Reformation. Mr. A. Hyatt Mayor, in his illuminating article on the show, in the Metropolitan's *Bulletin*, tells of the changes in thinking on art that were brought about by the Council of Trent. To combat previous abuses, a new severity and purity were decreed. Thus we have the noble portraits and religious painting of Philippe de Champaigne, with their reflection in the prints of Jean Morin, perhaps the greatest of all engravers. His mastery is such that one delights in his perfect craftsmanship even while he abnegates the personal note afforded to Rembrandt in the free handling of his etched plates. There are several of the latter in the exhibition, works chosen, evidently, for their religious subjects and sober treatment, which are in keeping with the prints around them.

But how well the grave mastery of the engraver can unite with a brilliant, even gay note is to be seen in two plates of "The Foolish Virgins" by Jan Saenredam. Even more, perhaps, the almost magical control of the exacting medium appears in the "Portrait of Bartolomeus Spranger and His Wife" by Aegidius Sadeler. Yet its tremendous achievement in the field of technique is its lesser attraction. Aside from the luminous and lovable human quality in the two effigies, there is Baroque design in space, the distinctive feature of the school; and there is that miraculous crispness of the engraved line as it metamorphoses the paper that receives it, and thus symbolizes the whole renewal of art in this time of renewing faith. Such words, surely, are of the kind we need to hear today, when the world and the artists face tests even more drastic than those of the time represented by this most useful exhibition.

WALTER PACH

The Bandwagon

The formal negotiation meeting of Government and Communist delegates, scheduled for today, has been postponed because it conflicted with a cocktail party given by Foreign Minister Wang Shih-Chieh for General George C. Marshall, American envoy to China. – *AP dispatch from Chungking.*

"It is not the question of what the people want, but what is good for them." The Senator [Bilbo] continued, "For example, the people here [in the District of Columbia] want the right to vote, but we know that it is not good for them." – *From the Washington* Evening Star.

For sale or lease, 26-room dwelling, large site, in beautiful Westchester, 185 Winyah Avenue, New Rochelle. Suitable for convalescent home, funeral parlor or night club. – *Advertisement in the New York* Times.

If the government could make up its mind whether it is more afraid of inflation or of deflation it could at least develop a policy which is logical, even if it is not sound. – *Edson B. Smith, in his financial column in the Boston* Herald.

The Federal Housing Agency for the region including Maryland is refusing to rent apartments in certain structures built by the federal government during the war—and is taking that action with the purpose of getting out of competition with structures built by private capital. . . . . Local real-estate men have expressed delight with the situation, seeing it as a move that promises to increase the earnings on their properties. – *From the Baltimore* Evening Sun.

God Bless America

Our social planners insist that America has a mature economy —that America is incapable of any further expansion. . . . Yet constantly new ideas arose and were put into effect. Capital eagerly sought these new ideas, poured money and brain power into them, pulled them up and put them over. A vast tide of multicolored chariots has flowed along the nation's highways—newsstands are covered with an incredible variety of literature of all kinds—the double feature beats all the Renaissance had to offer! – *From David Conquest's column in the San Francisco* Examiner.

Good Going!

Mrs. De Lorda set forth that she was a "faithful and affectionate wife" from their marriage day, July 24, 1944, until their separation, July 25, 1944. – *From the Chicago* Daily News.

Counsel of Despair

If we are sincere with ourselves we should acknowledge that the main reason we want a democratic Japan is because we think that under this kind of government we expect her to grow weaker rather than stronger, which, incidentally, is anything but a compliment to democracy. It is because of this theory that we imposed democracy on Germany a quarter of a century ago, only to pave the way for Hitler a dozen years later. – *Polyzoides, in the Los Angeles* Times.

Total-War Department

The boys are coming home, Hallelujah, and eyelash curlers are back just in time to help you slay them. – *From a release of Elliott and Nelson, 527 Fifth Avenue, New York.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

The Balts in Sweden

SIR: At the moment of writing (November, 1945) some 160 of the 30,000 Baltic subjects in Sweden (technically citizens of the Soviet Union) are awaiting transport to the USSR. These people arrived in German uniforms and five months ago the Swedish government came to an agreement with the Soviet authorities that such "military" refugees should be deported.

With the approach of the date set for their deportation, efforts were made to extend the right of asylum to these "military" Balts. It was claimed that many of them were pressed into German service or that they were in fact patriots defending their lands against an aggressor; and finally (this claim was made a few days ago), that many of them only donned the Wehrmacht uniform in order to escape from Bornholm when the Russians occupied that island.

Engineered (according to the trade-union and extreme Left press) by sinister Nazi elements in Sweden, the action in favor of these Balts has swept the country with incredible swiftness and passion, splitting it into opposing factions. "This storm in a tea-cup," as a Communist organ has called it, is an expression of mixed emotions and ethical evaluations. It appears to be of only relative importance to know who "engineered" the action. Once it was launched, it was taken up by the entire body of responsible liberal opinion in the country. To this was coupled wild outcries from the Right.

Perhaps of some interest are the psychological motives behind this intensity of passion. It can be summed up as an explosion of pent-up emotion. Analysis would show that the Swedish public conscience—exemplified in this case by liberal opinion—has been long compelled by what has been regarded as *force majeure* to restrain emotion when faced with morally wrong national acts. This *force majeure, i.e.*, the expectation of immediate invasion, has been removed by the victory of the United Nations, and now comes an opportunity for the accumulated feeling of five years to explode.

Perhaps the lack of concrete fact is another reason which helps raise the temperature of national feeling. It is frustrating not to *know*, to have to *guess*. It is hard, perhaps impossible, to prove the guilt or innocence of the men concerned. Seen from a wartime point of view, with the automatic moratorium on ethics, the man in uniform as a member of a group is to be punished as such, and not as an individual. But this fragment of war has been displaced both in time and space. It has landed in a community which has no death penalty and no first-hand experience of the European tragedy. This disjointed piece of war is separated from the body of wartime (by half a year) and also from the theatre of war.

Thus it is impossible to give any clear-cut answer to this first question: Are these men guilty? And the other imponderable: What will happen to these men? is also unanswerable. The present Foreign Minister has assured the Riksdag that there is no reason to believe that the Soviets will treat these people in a manner at variance with the treatment of all prisoners of war. The extreme Left has stamped the view of the extreme Right (that to hand them over is the same as being the tools of hangmen) as not only a grave insult to the great and powerful neighbor of Sweden, but also as unrealistic. Sweden, they claim, must do everything to be friends with the Soviets.

In this retort from the Left, the lack of ethical considerations is as notable as the lack of substantiation of fact in the claim from the Right. But responsible liberal opinion (especially as represented by the jurists and academicians) does not wish to turn a deaf ear to the stories of savagery which are in circulation in this country in regard to the fate of the Baltic peoples. Their deep concern must be voiced in spite of the government's rejoinder that all this is only rumor. It is with bitterness that the deportation and extradition of political and racial refugees to Germany are remembered and responsible liberal opinion is bearing the taunts of "Russophobia" which are flung by the Left at the Right.

Symbolically, this incident is much more than a storm in a teacup. For Sweden, however much she would like to be independent, is in fact one of the Eastern provinces of Western thought, and her relations to the Soviets may to some extent be regarded as a barometer for the whole complex issue of relations between the two variants of democracy.

Göteborg, Sweden HAROLD LOWENSTEIN

[As of January 7, none of the Balts referred to had been deported to Russia. The only deportees were 2,000 German prisoners of war, of whose nationality there was no question.—THE EDITORS]

Mr. Cochran Is a Progressive

SIR: Your excellent editorial on the poll tax in the issue of December 17 is marred by only one error which should be corrected without delay. In describing the reactionary House Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, you indicate that it includes "backward-gazing Cochran of Missouri." It is unnecessary to cite Representative Cochran's long record in the House to prove the gross injustice of the description. It will suffice to point out that the roll-call votes included in the *New Republic*-UDA supplement of last February 5 shows that Mr. Cochran voted with progressives in 13 out of 13 cases!

It might be added that among the many progressive measures introduced by Mr. Cochran is the House counterpart of Senator Murray's bill for a Missouri Valley Authority, HR 2203. Recently Mr. Cochran was much in the news as the ranking majority member of the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments which considered the full-employment bill. In that capacity, Mr. Cochran did participate in writing the meaningless substitute bill reported out by the committee and passed by the House. But he did so only because otherwise the legislation would have been completely buried in committee. He was one of the 116 House sponsors of the original bill, HR 2202, and voted for it in the teller vote. He made his position perfectly clear in a speech during the House debate. (See the *Congressional Record* for December 13, 1945.) Progressives could use more Cochrans in Congress.

Washington, D. C. JAMES LOEB JR.

[We regret that a too compact piece of editorial writing did an unwitting injustice to Representative Cochran. Our reference to him was exclusively in terms of the anti-poll-tax bill, and we should have said so. He refused to sign the discharge petition to bring this bill out of committee; and he did so at a time when signatures on the discharge petition were badly needed. He did, however, finally vote for the bill.—THE EDITORS]

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Business of Blushing

SIR: You say in an editorial in the December 31 issue that it is only luck that this New Year, Jews in New York are not wearing the Star of David, or that the editors of the *New Republic* are not dying or dead in a concentration camp. It is only modesty on your part. And modesty in times like ours is not very helpful. You whose opinion counts so much helped quite a bit to avoid death in concentration camps for yourselves, the Jews and a few more people. If all the statesmen of the world were readers of the *New Republic*, not only concentration camps but the war might have been avoided.

Allston, Mass. Z. POLIVNICK

War Crimes and Progress in Law

SIR: In his letter appearing in the *New Republic* of December 24, Mr. Waldo R. Browne gives a thoughtful discussion of the Nuremberg trial. Though seeing incidental good, he feels "grave misgivings about the entire business," chiefly because not only the guilt of Germans but also the guilt of the Western democracies is involved, and by the necessary strategy of the trial the guilt of the democracies is being obscured. . . . To the general moral outlook expressed, the present writer can contribute only appreciative assent.

In the concluding part of his letter, however, Mr. Browne asserts that it is a "fatal weakness" in the Nuremberg trial that its judges and lawyers are "bound to pretend" that international relations have already been brought out of anarchy into law; "they must perforce evoke and apply an improvised pattern of law in a region where, as few know better than themselves, lawlessness still reigns supreme." . . .

It seems unnecessary here to choose between views on whether a court, deciding without statute or precedent, finds law or makes law. Some progressive decisions would be viewed as retroactive under the theory that the court, in a case of "first impression," makes law; but the same decision would not be deemed retroactive under the theory that the court only discovers law. Under either theory, however, a given decision may satisfy the broad requirement of "due process" as both consistent with traditional judicial action and essentially fair to the accused.

To be sure, judicial decision, save perhaps in the interpretation of statutes and the determination of penalties, in many countries today is not the method of development in criminal law. But in large and influential parts of the world it is a method never abrogated. May we not accept as peculiarly applicable to a court, domestic or international, the statement of Bishop, a great writer on the criminal law, that besides the formal authorities there is another source, "as certainly bowed before as the forest tree bows before the whirlwind; namely, the force of the combined reason and conscience of mankind"? If so, acts which when done violated that "combined reason and conscience," quickened and unified by agony and fear brought by repeated wars and expressed in the most solemn international agreements, appear fairly subject to a court's judgment. As I see it, to apply sweepingly to the instant situation the policy running against *ex-post-facto* law-making is to lose sight of the history and nature of judicial decision as an engine of progress in the law. The distinction here between decision and statute is not without reason; a judicial tribunal, dealing with specific situations and upon a full view of particular circumstances, may rather safely be trusted to act, in a case presenting a new problem, within the scope of preponderant opinion and moral feeling, and without unfairness to the accused.

It is of course profoundly unfortunate that the nations take so long to achieve a government and that the tribunal at Nuremberg represents the victorious nations rather than a truly international body. Yet is not something left? Certainly this great trial is no summary one, no mere moment in the putting of an enemy to the sword. It is an effort in the highest seriousness to characterize conduct and to condemn it, to punish individuals and to affirm basic principle as law. That such men as the German leaders went so long "undeterred and even unrebuked," to the shame of the democracies, can hardly be a reason for calling off now, or for belittling, the implemented rebuke of this tragic and pregnant proceeding.

Nashville, Tenn. J. H. MOORE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Several readers have accepted our invitation to comment on the question of world government in relation to the letter from four Oak Ridge scientists printed in the issue of December 24.

J. A. Leighton of Ohio State University writes that "to work for full world government now is to waste one's energies in sheer Utopianism" because of the great variations in culture among nations and groups today. Mr. Leighton rejects the thesis that the alternative to world government is international instability. "With adequate support . . . UNO can grow into a genuine and effective confederation. Therefore, peace lovers should unite to further and improve the constitution and personnel of UNO."

Agreeing with Mr. Leighton, Chauncey B. Downes of Englewood, New Jersey, thinks that world government is "at present practically unattainable," and cites the difficulty the United States had in forming a union even with citizens of similar ethnic and cultural origins. Mr. Downes feels that an international bill of rights should, however, be attached to the UNO Charter. While we cannot have exactly the same freedom listed there as in the United States Constitution, he thinks that "some bill with the same general purpose should be created, with a violation of the rights therein a direct signal for immediate police action."

Benjamin Kirson of Holicong, Pennslyvania, says that "surprisingly little consideration is being given to the great danger that if the enforcement power of the world were organized under one government, it might fall into the hands of vicious men," and calls our attention to the "one world" which might conceivably exist if Germany had discovered the atom bomb first. He thinks that "the atomic bomb makes a single world government more hazardous than ever." On the other hand, "every activity in every corner of every country in the world must be open to . . . public representatives of every other country" as a first step toward international control.

George Jaffin of Jacksonville, Florida, sends us proof of his review of Emery Reves's *Anatomy of Peace* for the Columbia Law Review. Mr. Jaffin feels that the proponents of world federation, Mr. Reves, Mr. Justice Roberts, Professor Einstein and others, should be ready to work with UNO to attain world government through handling international problems jointly, rather than trying to move directly into an international confederation. He suggests that studies for a world constitution be made during the period we work with UNO.

Jessie A. Allen of Long Beach, California, tells of the work of World Peace Through Education, a movement of which she is acting secretary. Its aim is to get a world university started as a means of promoting international understanding for world peace with "social welfare and security for all."

Our New York City readers may be interested to learn of a mass meeting sponsored by the Union for Democratic Action at Hunter College Auditorium, January 15, at eight p.m., to discuss the GM-UAW dispute. The principal speakers will be Walter Reuther, vice-president of the United Auto Workers, and Ethel B. duPont, a General Motors stockholder.

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Dreiser: 1871-1945

THEODORE DREISER was one of the last berserkers of the age that saw America finally transformed from an agricultural, pioneering nation into a ponderous industrial imperialism. Perhaps our vitality as a nation will depend upon whether we can continue to produce analysts and critics like Dreiser, Veblen and Clarence Darrow.

There is little new to be said of the man or the artist. His philosophizing, in his novels and other writings alike, was almost always puerile, but the *philosophy* that underlay his work was elemental and timeless—a not uncommon blending of ancient fatalism and modern materialism. His political sympathies led him finally to the Communist Party, for whose absurdities of the 1939-40 period he became one of the chief spokesmen, but essentially his social thought and action were non-doctrinaire and, like Darrow's, both broadly humanitarian and based on pessimism rather than the optimism of the received ways of either the booster or the socialist.

The glaring deficiencies of his style—its frequent flatness and tastelessness, its clumsiness and fatal "poetic" flights—have been pointed to repeatedly, and by his admirers. The faults remain and will probably forever bar his work from any full title of greatness, in spite of the fact that almost alone of our novelists he produced books that are broadly conceived, minutely executed, large in theme and peopled with dimensional characters—"cut them and they bleed."

In an age in which so many of the currents in education and in the general culture are anti-naturalist and anti-humanitarian, Dreiser and his work are in the heritage of all who stand against supernaturalism in the arts and surrealism in religion and morals. GEORGE MAYBERRY

Books in Review

The Real Thing

AS THE SECOND of a series which began with *The Great Short Novels of Henry James* this volume[1] (though its title omits the self-laudatory adjective) suggests a more searching criterion than any which James's recent critics have proposed. Not that their admiration is hard to share. The style they are recommending is graceful as well as fashionable; the fabric they exhibit is long-wearing as well as richly woven; the clothes they admire—to reverse the parable of Andersen's emperor—are unquestionably real. The question is whether there is very much of a human being within them. A prejudice in favor of flesh and blood is bound to be more fully satisfied with the frayed humanity, the disheveled realism, the almost indecent exposures of Dostoevsky. Mere access to raw material, of course, is less significant than the use the artist makes of it, as James's "Art of Fiction" demonstrated to the now-forgotten author of *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*. But a qualified explorer of consciousness who happens to have been a convict and an epileptic has an obvious advantage over a fellow novelist, perhaps equally perceptive, who has been more conventionally inhibited by circumstance and temperament. Hence, where James presents "a general vision of evil," Dostoevsky gives particulars; where Dostoevsky is a psychologist, James remains a moralist. Where the American conceals habitually and arouses our suspicions, the Russian reveals everything and invites our sympathies. Dostoevsky's ambivalence rushes to extremes while James's ambiguity is hesitating to commit itself. He can make a virtue of his limitations by assimilating the narrator's point of view, but he cannot speak for *The Insulted and the Injured* when he only knows the complimented and the cushioned. Between what Maisie knew and what Stavrogin confessed lies the abyss that separates innocence from experience.

[1] The Short Novels of Dostoevsky, with an introduction by Thomas Mann. New York: The Dial Press. 811 pages. $4.

The close affinity between James and Turgenev completes this antithesis, for Turgenev was Dostoevsky's particular aversion. He advised the elder novelist, when the two met at Baden, to get a telescope and train it on Russia. His own unique perspective had been gained by mingling, not with Russian expatriates at German watering-places, but with fellow inmates of Siberian prison camps. *The Gambler*, his fictional record of one occasion when he strayed into Turgenev's territory, is the dialectical counterpart of James's *Ambassadors*. Here it is a brash young tutor, rather than a shy middle-aged editor, who is entrusted with the delicate mission of breaking off an international marriage. His relations with the heroine—who throws herself as wholeheartedly into the role of *femme fatale* as her living model, Polina Suslova—are at once more compromising and more casual than anything James could envisage between Strether and Madame de Vionnet. Even the moribund *babushka*—instead of remaining, like James's dowager, a decorous offstage voice from Woollett, Massachusetts—turns up at the gaming tables of Roulettenburg for a last desperate plunge. Roulette is a suitable pastime for these Russians, an English bystander remarks, because they are incapable of capitalistic enterprise. For each of them the turn of the wheel serves to precipitate crises and bring out passions, whereas the Jamesian delegation carries home the mild satisfaction of unpleasant scenes avoided and wayward impulses brought under control. For Dostoevsky's hero there is no homecoming; finally he is lost from sight down the vortices of the game; meanwhile there is never a moment for pausing in a garden to meditate on having missed the train. Yet it is introspection, a process paradoxically rare with James, that teaches Dostoevsky his profounder knowledge of men and motives. What passes for James's moral delicacy, tried by this touchstone, is reduced to psychological naïveté.

Dostoevsky's other heroes, turning their passionate pilgrimage eastward and inward, respond to Pushkin's advice: "Humble thyself, proud man. Cease to wander in foreign

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lands. . . ." No merely transatlantic span can be compared with the distance they cover between tragic pride and Christian humility. If their direction is uncertain, our suspense is thereby heightened, and this inner tension sustains their vitality. In a word, they do what our poor Jamesian friends—with such appealing wistfulness, such ineffable regret—do not: they "live." The doctrine of emotional ambivalence, as preached by Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar and practised by Stendhal's Julien Sorel, provides Dostoevsky's technique of characterization. Where most novelists tend to externalize and typify, he compounds his individuals out of divergent types, including both the saint and the criminal. An early story, *The Double*, sketches a prototype: the ineffectual hireling whose wishes and worries take the shape of a successful rival, his *doppelgänger* and deadly enemy. Nothing short of madness can yoke these conflicting personalities together, since the Dostoevskian little man is born to be frustrated and humiliated by reality. In contrast to the Russian society represented by Tolstoy's army officers and landed proprietors, he moves through a world of homeless clerks and isolated students. We recognize them, for we have fallen heir to their ills—the inferiority complex of Casper Milquetoast, the anxiety neuroses of the *New Yorker*, the daily abasement of Leopold Bloom, the nightly somnambulism of Franz Kafka. *Notes from Underground* not only records their case-history; it expresses the masochistic self-consciousness of human nature, the love of chaos threatening to destroy the crystal palace of modern enlightenment. How the worm can turn, and the persecuted become the persecutor, is graphically portrayed in *The Friend of the Family;* here the plot of *Tartuffe*, substantiated by the trivial details of a provincial household, throws light on the ultimate sources of Rasputin's power—or even Hitler's.

Thus the supermen are underdogs turned inside out, and Dostoevsky's shorter novels supplement his major works. The major themes of crime and disease are muted to petty vices and minor complaints, and the nightmarish mood of tragedy yields to comic hysteria. *The Eternal Husband* involves a duel of nerves between a lover and a cuckold over the dead wife and the dying daughter; the final triumph is characteristically reserved for the *mari philosophe*. The protagonist of *Uncle's Dream*, Prince K., embodies the decay of aristocracy along with the artificiality of comedy; he appears as a kind of mechanical doll, wearing a false beard, a wooden leg, and an eye-glass over a glass eye; yet he extricates himself from a discomfiting situation by making believe that he dreamed it. By transposing Gogol's fantasies to the subjective plane of hallucination, Dostoevsky converted them into realities. Though his longer novels are admirably constructed, he was somewhat too diffuse to be a stylist, and he sometimes protracts to *novella* length episodes that could be concentrated into a short story.

It is hard to discern any principle of arrangement behind these six tales, and it is regrettable that the use of Constance Garnett's translation should not be properly acknowledged. In view of its historical importance and humanitarian emphasis, the omission of *Poor People* is a serious flaw. And the introduction by Thomas Mann, who archly repeats himself and pompously quotes himself, adds little to the penetrating earlier comments in his essay on Goethe and Tolstoy. He is justified, however, in continuing to dwell upon "the genius of disease" while the world continues to be Dostoevsky's patient. Whether or not we prefer to have James at our bedside is another matter: a choice between the terrifying pathologist who renders the diagnosis and the consoling visitor who brightens the sickroom with flowers.

HARRY LEVIN

Bunk About the TVA

Uncle Sam's Billion Dollar Baby, by Frederick L. Collins. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 176 pages. $2.50.

EVERY SO OFTEN all the old arguments against the TVA are dressed up in new clothes and presented to the public as brand-new reasons for abolishing public power and handing electrical distribution back to the private utility interests.

In 1934, Frederick L. Collins, the author of the present volume, wrote another book called *Consolidated Gas Company of New York, a History*. In 1943 he wrote *The Romance of Stainless Steel*. His current publishers never mention these two eulogies of American monopoly in their blurbs or in their publicity. Nor does Mr. Collins, for on the flyleaf, where the author lists his previous works, he forgets to include these tailor-made creations.

Nor does Collins reveal that much of his present book is borrowed almost word for word (undoubtedly with the original author's consent) from an earlier work by Edwin Vennard, an executive of the Middle West Corporation. The reader will have no trouble identifying the Middle West Corporation as the heir to Insull's Chicago power interests as well as to that broken tycoon's tradition of crude propaganda. Vennard will not sue Collins, for obvious reasons. For years and for free, Vennard would have been delighted to send *The Danger of the TVA Method of River Control*, on which so much of Collins' book is based, to any likely comer. Vennard's book was straight utility propaganda against the TVA. Its circulation was limited because of the obvious prejudice of its sponsors. Vennard may well hope for better results when Putnam's publishes the same argument in a book selling at $2.50. In fact, there are results already. The New York *Daily Mirror* reviewed Collins' book in a full-dress editorial, headed "TVA Hooey!" This editorial is complete with Hearstian caps and concludes: "Mr. Collins has once again reminded us that there is nothing that can successfully take over the place of PRIVATE ENTERPRISE in America." The Hearst press has no trouble in identifying Mr. Vennard's wolf despite Mr. Collins' sheepskin.

Nor would the reader have any difficulty, particularly if he had Vennard and Collins side by side. Page after page contains pure—or impure—Vennard. For instance:

Vennard, page 65: The cost of electricity to industry is of about the same consequence as it is in a home. The average household monthly electric bill is slightly more than $3. This

Collins, page 101: The cost of electricity to businessmen is of about the same consequence as it is to housewives. The average household monthly electric bill is slightly more than three dol-

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is only about 1.5 percent of a monthly income of $200.	lars. That's only about one and a half percent of a monthly income of two hundred dollars a month.
Vennard, pages 27-28: . . . The authority or agency gets its principal income from the sale of electricity. The man in charge doesn't want to "waste" any water. He wants to show a "profit." He will take a chance. He will keep the level of the reservoir dangerously high. But he can't tell whether rain up the valley is to be of short or long duration. Rains and floods are notoriously unpredictable.	Collins, page 156: . . . Power is the only thing that brings in any dough. So, since the amount of power he can generate depends on the amount of water that is available he doesn't want to "waste" any of it that he doesn't absolutely have to on unremunerative flood control. He will take a chance. He will keep the level of the reservoir dangerously high. But he can't tell whether the rain up the valley is to be of long or short duration. Nobody can. Rains and floods, as we have seen, are notoriously unpredictable.
Vennard, page 61: It was an ironical commentary on government-in-business that the country's first and only power shortage during the war occurred in 1941 in the Southeast where TVA is located. True, there was a drought, but that is a condition that must be taken into account in the electric power business. This drouth was not unusual. Drouths occur on the Tennessee River. There was one in 1925 and another in 1931. . . .	Collins, page 102: "Perhaps not. But I think you will agree that it was an ironical commentary that the only power shortage during the war emergency occurred in the region influenced by the TVA. To be sure, there was a drought, but that is a condition that must be taken into consideration in the region of the Tennessee River. There was one in 1925 and another in 1931."
Vennard, page 12: . . . The League was founded in 1914. . . . Its guiding spirit is its secretary, Carl D. Thompson.	Collins, page 76: . . . The Public Ownership League of America was founded in 1914. Its guiding spirit was, and is, Carl D. Thompson.
Vennard, page 12: . . . He was on the National Committee of the Socialist Party in 1905 and was placed in nomination for president at the 1908 Socialist Convention. In 1916 he was official campaign manager for the National Socialist ticket.	Collins, page 77: . . . He was a Socialist national committeeman in 1905, and was placed in nomination for president at the Socialist national convention of 1908. In 1916 he was campaign manager for the National Socialist ticket. . . .

There is much more of Vennard in the book rewritten by Collins but whether Collins quotes verbatim or rewrites, the facts are often unreliable, as are Mr. Collins' own additions. "TVA power," says Vennard, along with Collins, "is a billion-dollar baby." Actually the power item in the TVA, which is the target of the utilities, represents less than half that sum. But what is half a billion between enemies of public power?

Collins is determined to persuade the reader to believe that the TVA did little or nothing to help win the war. He gives much time to "the exaggerated and wholly misleading matter of the TVA's claims to importance in the war effort." Against Vennard and Collins, place this estimate by Leland Stowe: "If not for the TVA, I am sure war production would have been reduced and delayed so greatly that the duration of this war would have been prolonged for very many months." Stowe wrote his appraisal long before the world knew of the atomic bomb. Vennard and Collins may by now be feeling the chain reaction from that bomb, since Oak Ridge was created in the Tennessee Valley solely because the TVA could supply the essential power.

Having disposed of the TVA in the war, Vennard and Collins—I am linking the joint authors as the publisher does not—make a great point of how the private utilities actually saved the TVA. They cite one instance when the TVA, short of power, received additional supplies of current from the private utilities by way of the existing interconnecting system. Having made the point that the TVA once called on the power companies, they omit the more important fact that it has been called on for power supply by private utilities many times and has in fact fed current over Vennard's own system. More times than not, Vennard and Collins lean toward making an argument by a label rather than by a fact. They call the TVA type of operation, "political management," and what the private utilities do, they call "business management." Most readers will have no trouble deciding how political these so-called "business managements" are when they recall the live and lusty private power companies which have bought up whole legislatures, or when they remember the Insull-dominated National Electric Light Association which went out of business after the public discovered that it was exerting pressure on textbook writers and college professors. The sad truth is that the private utilities should really be designated as "political managements" because of their deeds, not the least of which has been to use political pressure against the TVA.

Collins' use of labels is a technique. It is his intention to have the reader believe that the TVA is communist and crooked. To make this point, he injects on page 36 this statement, " 'State socialism,' Lenin is quoted as saying, 'is electricity plus bookkeeping.' " Note, please, how Collins protects himself from being disbelieved by the reader by saying, "Lenin is quoted." This cautious statement of what Lenin is imagined to have said next appears as "alleged" and "supposed to have said," and is kicked around until on page 70 Collins loses all his doubts. Here Lenin said it for sure. The fact is that Lenin said nothing remotely like the statement attributed to him by Collins. The actual Lenin quotation is, "Communism is the Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country, for without electrification, progress in industry is impossible." But the accurate quotation does not serve Collins' purpose. He has therefore discarded it in favor of a synthetic creation which better makes his point. This is that Lenin was a Bolshevik, and if he liked electricity, that makes the TVA communist. Tying bookkeeping to Lenin somehow implies that the TVA's bookkeeping practices are, to say the least, unscrupulous.

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This same type of city-slicker operation appears when Collins sets out to prove that it was really the Socialist Party which dreamed up the TVA. Collins knows that Americans do not like Nazis. Therefore every time he drags in the Socialist Party, he refers to it as the national Socialist party and compares it (in the same sentence) to the National Socialist Party of Germany. Which makes the two brands of socialism the same thing, you see. In Collins' hat!

All this crude propaganda Collins ties into a package which he hopes will be thought cozy and homey. The action takes place in the average guy's home. Because this befuddled gent initially has the idea that the TVA is good, all Collins' and Vennard's arguments against the TVA can be dragged in. Collins' wife and daughter straighten out their befuddled head of the house, with the help of the president of the local utility company—known throughout these pages as "Honest Ed." In the process of enlightening the confused hero, a professor is dragged in—better to designate all the long-haired boys as dishonest screwballs. By contrast, a military officer makes a bow and a point; all soldiers will catch on to their postwar task—"Fight TVA."

By now you have the idea of what goes on between the covers of Mr. Collins' book. To Collins I say, this isn't nice work even when you can get it. To Putnam's, I ask how they got into this excessively peculiar enterprise. To the unwary reader, I say that the utilities, no matter what they feed the public, don't themselves believe this stuff. I quote from an editorial directed to utility executives, from one of their own organs, the *Electrical World*:

> These valley projects are going forward and, since they are too big and present no apparent market initially, private capital must give way to government financing. And if private capital cannot do these things, it cannot expect the people who anticipate benefits from a project to be sympathetic to the attacks on it.

A. G. MEZERIK

Magic Molehill

A Night with Jupiter and Other Fantastic Stories, edited by Charles Henri Ford. New York: A View Edition; The Vanguard Press. 128 pages. $3.

CHARLES HENRI FORD, the editor of this volume, has shown that silence can be as ambiguous as speech. Because he has limited his editorial activity to the selecting of fifteen stories from *View*, and has written no word of introduction to explain his principle of selection, he has left unanswered the question that his text also fails to answer: "What is a fantastic story?" Unless we are to assume that a fantastic story is anything that appears in *View*, the present collection stretches any possible definition almost beyond the point of meaningfulness. For example, Henry Miller's title story, which relates how the author fell through a skylight and barely missed his death on the night that Jupiter was supposed to exercise its most baneful influence upon him, is fantastic only if you suppose that astrology is fantastic. But if astrology seems fantastic to you, then, most likely, you won't believe in it, and you will ascribe Mr. Miller's mishap, not to Jupiter, but to coincidence. There are, of course, fantastic coincidences, but the fantastic story, as I understand it, strives to set up necessary, although il-

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logical, relationships among events, rather than accidental ones—it follows what the surrealists call a dream-logic in which the apparently free juxtaposition of images is actually controlled by an undeclared system of meanings, a desired effect and a dominant tone. These three elements, which are constants in surrealism, govern the definition of the fantastic; for which reason only *interior* accidents are properly fantastic. The accidents that occur in the external world are, by definition, uncontrolled, and therefore irrelevant.

I go to this length only to show that the meaning of "fantastic," far from being an obvious thing, is really one of the more difficult problems of surrealism. A simpler approach would be to list the specific claims to fantasy that these stories put forth. Thus, Miguel Asturias' "Tatuana" is patterned after folk-myth; Clay Perry's "Dead-Eye Dick Rides Again" is a parody of the Western story; "Dark Sugar," by Paul Childs, is fantastic mainly in its syntax and its poetic use of jive, etc. The painter di Chirico's "Hebdomeros," in my opinion, comes closest to following the "true" fantastic pattern, while Leo Poch's "The Watermelons" has nothing fantastic in it and Ramon J. Sender's "The Buzzard," a parable of war and a strictly moral story, seems to me diametrically opposed to the fantastic, at least as the surrealists interpret it.

It should be clear that the surrealists' activity is more in the nature of a quest for the fantastic than an achieved method of creating it. Fantasy is their blue bird and their golden fleece, the prize of experience for which the world is well lost—wherein they disregard Coleridge's warning albatross and his distinction, pertinent to their case, between fancy and imagination. The surrealist objective is certainly imaginative, but the means nearly always are fanciful. The rigor and purity essential to surrealism, as to any esthetic, the statement of which might well be regarded as the editor's highest duty, are all too frequently relaxed in favor of a catch-all modernism that promotes sensation in its most vulgar terms. The prize of experience, poor bird, is stuffed with worthless or irrelevant things—often among them the quaint typography and engravings, reproduced in this volume, that decorate the pages of *View*—and is served to the public piping hot, with one eye open to its commercial chances.

But some aspects of surrealist activity, especially those which occur in the work of imaginative writers generally, have proved to be quite rewarding. Two such examples offered in the present volume are the selection from Raymond Roussel's novel, *Impressions of Africa*, and Henry Miller's second contribution, "Dream of Mobile." Neither is strictly surrealist; both deal with actual geographical entities and elements of real experience. For this reason they attain a richer texture than that which is available in typical fantastic writing. "Dream of Mobile," more complete in itself than the selection from Mr. Roussel's novel, is concerned primarily with the idea of imagination. Henry Miller states that he has never visited Mobile, Alabama. His picture of it is entirely imaginary, and, of course, it resembles Henry Miller more than any habitable city. But it reveals Miller's understanding of the imaginative response itself and his insight, excellent whenever unclouded, into the evocative uses of reality. Imagining a natural object takes the place of presenting it. This is a generalization in

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which narrative and dramatic values are subsumed rather than expressed; it is nevertheless a legitimate one because Miller's respect for the natural as such prevents his play upon it from becoming completely arbitrary. A tension is built up between the demands of actuality and the ventures of mind which in the end saves and enriches the object. It is such a capacity for understanding the imaginative value of nature as nature that has always constituted the greatness and the *correctness* of the romantic impulse. The deviations of this impulse, and their deliberate exploitation in surrealism, have resulted from the false evaluation of dream as the only true imaginative work, and the false assumption that an artificial sleep is more productive of dreams than a real one.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Culture in Clusters

Configurations of Culture Growth, by A. L. Kroeber. Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press. 882 pages. $7.50.

THE PRIMARY IDEA of this book is that the highest cultural values occur, historically, in clusters. The idea, however, is not very thoroughly developed. Although Professor Kroeber spent seven years in the production of this weighty volume, and though the problem of cultural creativity is certainly of major importance, the result is not too impressive. The author identifies his aim in this way: "The purpose is not so much to offer a final explanation as to make the most pertinent data readily available for those who wish to search farther for a causality." But he offers very little explanation, and we are left with what is actually not much more than a fact-book.

Had the professor been more ambitiously imaginative, he might have produced a book (of course in the context of American culture) on the order of *The Decline of the West*. The problem is similar; but there is the all-significant difference that the American writer does not allow himself to theorize about the causes of the phenomena in question. He is inductive and objective, he says, while Spengler was "intuitionally subjective." For all the ultra-scientific flavor of the preceding statement, and others throughout the book, the *objective* fact remains that the one writer attempted theory while the other compiles facts. An empirical bias is healthy, but excessive empiricism often results in the sins of philistinism and theoretical laziness (the two are closely related). Of course no writer can be criticized for failing to do what he did not intend doing in the first place. *But a cultural group can.*

Professor Kroeber has been an anthropologist at the University of California since 1901. His method of arranging facts effects a certain union between anthropology and history. Basically, he operates with the concept of culture patterns; he investigates and delineates the behavior of these patterns, their "growth configurations . . . in time, in space and in degree of achievement." Eight of his eleven chapters are devoted each to an art like sculpture or to disciplines like science and philosophy. In another chapter (there are also introductory and concluding ones) the same material is reworked nationally or geographically, according to "historical culture-wholes." He uses the number of geniuses as an index to measure the intensity of "cultural energy." Correctly, he conceives genius as the means for realizing historical patterns, and as being dependent on these patterns.

None of the conclusions is striking. All of them are either factually specific or descriptive in a geometrical sense. But the book will undoubtedly be valuable to students and to "those who wish to search farther for a causality."

DAVID T. BAZELON

A Reader's List

ATOMIC ENERGY IN WAR AND PEACE, by Gessner G. Hawley and Sigmund W. Leifson (Reinhold, $2.50). In spite of a somewhat expansive title, this book is very much like the others which have appeared since Hiroshima for the purpose of informing an excited and inquisitive public about what this new era really means. Stripping nucleonics of most of its difficulties, the authors have done an excellent job of giving an elementary and accurate account of the structure of the atom, the methods used in disrupting it, and what happens during atomic fission. It is a sprightly little primer that will prepare any reader eager to venture into the official Smyth report on the atomic bomb.

Crime and Punishment

SECRETS CAN'T BE KEPT, by E. R. Punshon (Macmillan, $2). Inspector Bobby Owen of the CID had reason to regret his rather summary dismissal of young Ned Bloom and his offer to sell—at a price—secret information about some of the residents of Midwych. For Ned disappears that same night, and Owen's investigation of the possibility of his murder shows that the peaceful surface of the little hamlet conceals much odd, if not sinister, activity. Though the end is disappointing, Mr. Punshon has provided a lively tale.

ONCE ACQUITTED, by Amelia Reynolds Long (Phoenix, $2). Dr. Norman Franklin is standing trial for the murder of his colleague, Dr. Judson Hollister. His attorney and his fiancée are convinced of his innocence, and through the minutia of the week-long proceedings he builds into a sympathetic figure. But with his acquittal comes a surprising dénouement, which throws an entirely new light on the case. A knowledgeable job, cleverly handled. E. H.

Contributors

WALTER PACH's paintings and etchings belong to the permanent collections of the Metropolitan Museum and other famous galleries. Among his books are *Vincent van Gogh* and *Ingres*, and he is the translator of *History of Art*, by Elie Faure, and *The Journal of Eugene Delacroix*.

HARRY LEVIN, an associate professor of English Literature at Harvard, is the author of *James Joyce*. His critical study of Stendhal appears in the current number of the magazine *Pharos*.

A. G. MEZERIK, a frequent contributor to the *New Republic*, made a long trip of inspection through the Tennessee Valley last summer. He is co-editor, with Bruce Bliven, of *What the Informed Citizen Needs to Know*, recently published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

DAVID T. BAZELON contributes to the New York *Times Book Review*, *Politics* and *Partisan Review*. At present he is working on a novel.

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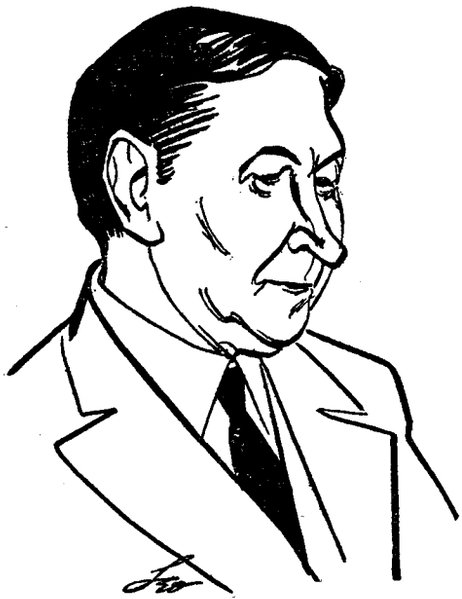

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